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Extra

MR. EAST'S EXPERIENCES IN

MR. BELLAMY'S WORLD

Records of the Years 2001 and 2002

BY

CONRAD WILBRANDT

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

MARY J. SAFFORD

NEW YORK

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS

NOVEMBER, 1891

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

I WAS requested by Herr Ost's relatives to examine the papers he had left, and to select those which I deemed suitable for publication. His records of the years 2001 and 2002 seemed to me noteworthy, and I thought that they should not be withheld from the public.

Like Mr. Bellamy's Julian West, Friedrich Ost * had the experience of being transported into a distant future. Like the former in the year 2000, the latter in the following ones became a witness of a new order of things in society and in the State, and confided to paper what he experienced, heard, and saw. That his observations led to different conclusions from Julian West's cannot render his narrative less valuable in my eyes.

On the contrary, this difference of observation and opinion made me consider publication a duty. Many hundred thousand copies of *Looking Backward* have been sold, so the book probably has had millions of readers. Have not these millions who have read with interest descriptions of the new arrangement of the world, who have all been charmed, perhaps, with the glimpses Julian West gave them of the life of our posterity—have not these millions a right to ask that

other descriptions, which show the other side of the life of that world, shall not be withheld? I, at least, believed it to be their due, and hope that they will devour this little work with the same eagerness.

This, of course, does not mean to imply that readers of a different opinion would not be cordially welcome.

D. H.

* Frederick East.—*Tr.*

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Mr. FREDERICK EAST'S EXPERIENCES IN Mr. BELLAMY'S WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

BURIAL AND RESURRECTION.

On the 25th day of November, 1890, I reached the last page of Edward Bellamy's book *Looking Backward*. This much-read volume has exerted a singular influence upon me and my destiny. Indirectly, if not directly, it has been the cause of my having shared the fate of the hero of the romance—that of being transferred from the time to which I belonged by date of birth to a period far removed from it.

I was born in the year 1833, and therefore was fifty-seven years old when I read Mr. Bellamy's novel. Now I take up my pen to record my experiences in the years 2001 and 2002. My existence during these years, and my ability to give an account of that period, I owe to an event which could not have happened save for the impressions produced by this book.

Edward Bellamy described in his romantic tale the prosperity and happiness of an age that lay before me in the misty distance, but which promised to our pos-

terity a future of unusual happiness. Its hero was the American, Julian West, of Boston, who had experienced the strange fate of being waked from a mesmeric slumber, into which he had fallen in 1887, by some excavations made in the year 2000 by workmen who destroyed his subterranean sleeping-room. He received a hospitable welcome in the home of Dr. Leete, and finally became engaged to his daughter, in whom he recognized the great-granddaughter of his former fiancée, Edith Bartlett.

The story of this betrothal and the unexpected changes in the life of this new era—the latter mainly learned through the explanations of Dr. Leete—are related by Mr. Bellamy's hero.

The condition of affairs, both in society and in the Government, seemed to me peculiar—nay, extraordinary. In the path-way of peaceful development the Government had become in all civilized countries the producer of every commodity. The entire sum of capital had passed into its possession, and the people owned only what they had obtained from the State to furnish their homes, for food, clothing, or other uses.

The whole laboring community, like the means of labor, was at the disposal of the State. An exchange of services between individuals no longer took place. Whoever desired to obtain an article or any personal service could secure it only at the public storehouses or bureaus of the Government.

Every one was compelled to work for the State, but all had an equal share of the profits. All differences in the payment for work had ceased; the fundamental principle being that every individual served the community to the best of his or her ability, and that all had an equal right to the goods of the world.

Entire liberty in the choice of a profession was allowed to every person. The Government took the sole charge of education, gave to every one the same intellectual and physical training, offered to every one the same opportunity for the acquisition of knowledge and of practical skill. The period of compulsory instruction lasted until the twenty-first year. At this age the young people entered upon their active life, but were first subjected to a season of apprenticeship, during which their superiors might assign them to any task, and after whose expiration each was considered qualified to choose the occupation best suited to his tastes and inclinations. Whoever selected a purely intellectual avocation received instruction gratuitously at some higher institution of learning until his thirtieth year. At the age of forty-five every citizen was released from toil, but retained his share of the profits of the general labor so long as he lived.

If, owing to the free choice of professions, some occupations which were more burdensome and difficult did not have a sufficient number of volunteers, a balance was obtained by lessening the hours of labor.

As there was no traffic between individuals, money had vanished from society. The Government estimated the value of all productions at a fixed sum, and, at the beginning of the year, issued to all citizens credit cards, bearing the sum allotted to each person as his share of the profits of the products of the common industry. Each was entitled to buy what he desired; he showed his credit card, and a snip with the scissors marked the amount required for payment. The international traffic, carried on solely by the governments, consisted merely of an exchange of goods. An international syndicate appraised these goods, and, by fixing their value, secured an equable settlement. These, briefly described, were the main feat-

ures of the new order of things in society and the State. It was the realization of the social-democratic idea, but the realization had resulted in every respect for the welfare of mankind. Social life was quiet and peaceful. Political and social conflicts no longer existed, because all division of interests had ceased. Crimes became a rarity, because their principal incentives, avarice and selfishness, no longer found opportunity for action. Disputes arising from differences of opinion in business were at an end, because people no longer transacted business with one another. Unhappy marriages no longer poisoned life, because marrying for money had become an impossibility, and no young girl, urged by necessity, felt a desire to give her hand to an unloved husband. Casualties such as were caused by the former mode of traffic, lack of work in consequence of a financial crisis, and loss of life due to inability to pay, were unknown ideas. As the government was administered in the simplest manner, and with the suppression of motives for quarrels between the nations armies were no longer maintained, the whole commercial system had vanished. No one now sought work in vain, industrial production had gained a great increase of strength, and the Government, spite of shortening the time of labor several hours, found itself able to offer the citizens so many pleasures that scarcely one of them felt a desire which must remain ungratified. True, Julian West did not mention the value of the credit cards, but the glimpse of Dr. Leete's household which he gives the reader shows a mode of life which, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, could not have been maintained on an income of less than twelve to fifteen thousand marks.

Such were the contents of this remarkable book. I

lay down on my sofa, to fall into a restless, brooding reverie. One thing was evident: if the abolition of private property, the direction of manufacturing establishments by the Government, and the equalization of distribution afforded the means of giving the laboring population abundant prosperity and preserving mankind from suffering and want, opposition was insolence, delay a crime. If such favorable conditions could be attained by all, the more favorable condition of the upper classes should offer no obstacle. But was all this within the bounds of possibility? Had our faulty world room for so much unclouded happiness?

Misgivings of all kinds arose in my mind, and a flood of doubts surged through my brain.

Will the employés of the Government in this socialistic state have the ability to perform all the business functions of the people with the same degree of energy which has hitherto resulted from the conflict of interests in the struggle for existence and the pursuit of gain by millions of individuals?

Will all these millions feel the same love of work when material interests are no longer at stake, and anxiety concerning daily bread, as well as the incentive of profit, are unknown to them? And will these millions have the consciousness of happiness and contentment when they no longer call anything their own and lead a life free from care and conflict?

Will strife and envy be banished with property from the human race? Will an equal income abolish hatred and leave no opportunity for rancor and rivalry?

Will differences of opinion in politics and administration cease if the Government becomes the sole manufacturer and distributor of goods?

Will the extinction of material interests exorcise the

spectres of class hatred, race hatred, and religious hatred?

All these doubts and questions besieged my brain. When doubt gained the upperhand all the images of want and woe in the world rose before me, and while these cheerless visions held sway it again became uncertain whether doubt was justifiable.

"The present social system, where selfishness reigns and constantly creates rich and poor, is a poisonous growth which must be eradicated," said one voice. "The present social system," said another, "is a work of Nature, and the human race will perish if it leaves the paths the universal mother has assigned." "Wealth must disappear," urged one voice, "for it ceaselessly draws poverty like a satellite in its circles." "Wealth is a blessing," retorted another, "for it will crowd out poverty as light dispels darkness." Which are the good and which are the evil voices? I strove to marshal the throng of contradictory thoughts in battle-array against each other, hoping that the sight of two well-arranged armies would afford a clear idea which side possessed the more effective weapons. But my brain was heated to boiling point, my blood was fairly seething, and a leaden weight rested on my eyelids. I tried to sleep, hoping to find rest, but Morpheus would not come, and the wild hunt of thoughts careered unchecked through my mind.

I don't know whether it was owing to the heat of the room—and my chronic nervousness contributed its quota—but my condition finally grew unbearable, and I sprang from my sofa to seek rest and coolness in the autumn air. Heedless where I went, I walked down Friedrichstrasse, and, after a long distance, turned into Leipzigerstrasse. The dazzling brilliancy of the electric lights

and the crowd of vehicles and people did me good. True, I was not relieved from the torturing pressure on my brain and the heavy weight on my eyes, but my thoughts were diverted by the splendor of the shops and the bustle of the people.

I had reached the end of the street when I suddenly felt a light tap on my shoulder. Turning in surprise I looked into the smiling face of my friend, Ferdinand Scherr, manager of an international banking business, with whom I had been in the habit of spending my evenings for years.

"Why, my dear friend," he said, half jesting, half in earnest, "you have returned from your journey and did not let me know? What has become of our agreement?"

The question perplexed me. I had come back from a long trip three days before, and had not once thought of sending him a postal-card. I strove to falter an apology, but Scherr perceived my embarrassment and laid his hand on my lips.

"No matter," he said, "I know how absent-minded you are, and it shall not be treasured up against you. But I am glad that I can give you an interesting evening."

"An interesting evening?" I replied, fearing that my heavy head and the flood of thoughts in it would not suffer even the most interesting things to charm me.

"Yes, indeed! A native East Indian called at my office this morning to ask for some information about the international bank business. As my time was very much occupied, and I could not give the desired explanation briefly, I made an appointment with him at a Vienna café, and am now on my way there."

Before he had finished these words he had seized me by the arm and was leading me forward.

A few steps more and we entered a tastefully furnished, not too spacious, but very cosey restaurant. The guests were few; so it was not difficult to find a quiet corner.

On a comfortable divan in an alcove sat a tall, slender man, whose white beard and sharply-cut features indicated that his age was nearly sixty, while, spite of his European garb, his bronzed complexion enabled us to recognize the East Indian we expected. No sooner did he see my friend Scherr than he rose and came forward with a courteous bow, saying,

"I am greatly indebted to you for taking so much trouble on my account, and only hope that you are not sacrificing too much of your valuable time."

He spoke German fluently, but with a peculiar accent, and his grammar was not perfectly correct.

"No, indeed, Herr Bernusi," Scherr answered. "I am entirely at your service, and will frankly admit that I was not wholly unselfish in choosing this hour. I trust it will afford us opportunity for better acquaintance and a pleasant chat. But first allow me to present an old friend, who is privileged to claim my evenings: Herr Bernusi, from India, Herr Friedrich Ost,* a worthy native of Mecklenburg, now residing in Berlin."

While speaking, Scherr motioned us to sit down, then ordered coffee, and at once commenced to speak of the subject on whose account Bernusi had called upon him in the morning.

The matter was settled in less than half an hour. Bernusi made a few notes in his memorandum-book, and seemed extremely gratified with the information obtained.

"I thank you very much for your kindness," he said.

* Mr. Frederick East.

"When I return to the East Indies with valuable aids to my banking business I shall owe them mainly to your knowledge and good-will."

"I am greatly obliged to *you*," replied Scherr, "and only hope that my information may lead to more extended relations. If your house should feel disposed to continue the connections formed with Germany, our bank will gladly seize every opportunity of serving you."

"I am sure of that," answered the East Indian, "and though at my age, and with the great distance which separates us, I can scarcely hope for repeated personal interviews, I trust I may often have the pleasure of exchanging letters."

Ferdinand Scherr smiled.

"Unluckily, our age of electricity and steam has not yet wholly conquered distance. Therefore we must hold fast to the happy hours which afford us the pleasure of personal intercourse. I hope you will not refuse to be my guest this evening."

Scherr summoned a waiter and ordered some Heidsieck. An animated conversation ensued, as always happens when Germans meet a scion of the ancient land of marvels. At first I was more silent and reserved than usual on such occasions, for the leaden weight on my brain and the prickling sensation in my eyes rendered me dull and taciturn. But the fascinating topic of the talk, and also probably the stimulating effect of the wine, did not fail to exert their reviving influence. Bernusi's thoughtful eloquence, especially, brought me into a more sympathizing mood.

He talked well, and showed a remarkable knowledge of all the affairs of his native land. The mode of life in the upper and lower classes of all the different nationalities, their customs and occupations, the condition of the

manufacturing population and the various agricultural pursuits, the trend of taste in architecture and costume, the wonders of the flora and the fauna, the peculiarities in the differences of religious faith, the connection between the climate, social life, and creed — suffice it to say that he understood how to describe everything which could interest us.

He himself was a Brahmin, and in his creed showed that he was a man in whom intellect and religious feeling were duly balanced.

The vivacity of the conversation made us feel better acquainted, and it seemed a matter of course that we should urge him to tell us some of the experiences of his life. This introduced us to a new and interesting sphere, for Bernusi's career had been a busy and a changeful one. Pursued by various blows of fate he had tried nearly every calling, wandered through all the provinces of his vast native land. I involuntarily asked him where he had spent his youth, and how he had laid the foundations of his culture.

"In my youth," he said, "I worked on my father's cotton plantation in Lahore, and here the Fakir Haridas noticed me and asked my father to let me enter his service. At first he refused, but finally yielded to my entreaties. I then spent a number of years with this Haridas, and to his philosophical method of searching into the most secret things I am probably principally indebted for my habit of observing all phenomena."

"Haridas, do you say?" I interrupted. "Isn't that the famous fakir whose repeated burials while alive are still a mystery to European scholars?"

"Certainly, that very Haridas; and I think it will probably be some time longer ere exact investigation will find an explanation of the manner in which a man

can spend weeks and months in the grave without being either alive or dead, and, on being brought to the air and light, begin by means of artificial inhalation to breathe and live again."

"Have you ever witnessed such burials?"

"I was present when General Ventura made his much-discussed experiment with him. Nay, Haridas had stipulated that the opening of the grave should be done in my presence, and that I alone should use the means to recall him to life."

Bernusi now related in detail all the particulars of this extraordinary case. How Haridas had cut the ligament of the tongue, which rolled back, closing the throat; how he, Bernusi, had then carefully plugged the ears and nostrils, and how quickly this peculiar condition of trance had followed. How the body had then been placed in a chest, the chest buried, and the grave sown with barley, and how, forty days after, the carefully-guarded grave had been opened in the presence of witnesses. The body was cold and rigid, but by means of artificial respiration and the application of heat the lifeless form was speedily restored to animation.

During this narrative Scherr had frequently looked at me and smiled, casting a side-glance at Bernusi, as if to intimate that the champagne must have got into his head. I did not allow myself to be vexed, but continued to discuss the peculiarity of this trance with the East Indian.

"Why, you are a queer fellow, Ost," Scherr burst forth at last. "I have always known you as a sceptic who believes nothing for which proof cannot be given, and here you seem to credit tales at which sensible women would shake their heads."

Bernusi looked up in surprise, but was courteous enough not to reply.

My blood boiled with anger, and I could not refrain from making a sharp answer.

"I believe what I cannot help believing," I cried, "and where doubt is no longer possible. So long as I had no witnesses of the matter, I, too, was incredulous. But since I have heard of it from a most reliable man, who was present himself, I should be committing an injustice were I to have the faintest disbelief. For the rest, we need not go to East India to learn that a body which lacks nothing except that it has lost the faculty of breathing will remain preserved from corruption if we keep the air from it. And, if a body remains unharmed, we need only set the lungs in motion, and the heart begins to beat, the blood circulates, and all the organs resume their functions."

"Then I suppose that in Mecklenburg you have seen the dead brought back to life, and buried bodies resurrected? You appear to be remarkably well-informed to-night."

"We are not discussing the dead, and we will let those who are buried rest. I merely said that, by excluding the air, we may preserve bodies from corruption. You seem to think that there is nothing in the world save what natural philosophy has already investigated; but the probability is that there is an unknown third condition, which is neither life nor death. If we exclude the air from a body which is in this third condition, if we render it impossible for the oxygen of the air to unite with the carbon of the food and thus produce heat and corruption, I know no reason why the organs of such a body should not act again."

Scherr had started from his chair, and was pacing up and down the now empty room with long strides.

"Before talking such nonsense you would better blow out some old dog's vital spark and bring him back to life again," he said.

"Fudge about dogs and vital sparks! I am not speaking of a man whose lamp of life has gone out, but of one who is neither dead nor alive, who is nothing but a machine that has stopped working for a few weeks. Set the driving-wheel in motion, and the shaft will turn, and so will the little wheels, and the whole machine will be in full running order."

"Yet I tell you that, in spite of all your eloquence, you don't believe it yourself."

"I don't believe it? Your circle of vision seems to have narrowed strangely. You once told me that grains of wheat, which had lain four thousand years in the hand of an Egyptian mummy, gave proof of their germinating power as soon as they were placed in fertile soil. And now you want to dispute the ability of an equally sound man to live again when his lungs are forced to breathe."

"Nevertheless, I repeat that you don't believe it yourself; and, if you desire, I'll prove the fact."

"You'll prove it?"

"I'll prove it." Scherr stopped in his walk, planted himself in front of me, and looked down at me in a very condescending way. "I'll prove it, because you haven't courage to let yourself be put into a trance and buried."

The words were uttered at the wrong time. We had already reached the seventh bottle, and the wine had done its work on me. My over-excited brain had lost the power of resisting the alcohol, and the liquor had only increased the pricking sensation in my eyes. This

had made me irritable, and would not permit me to pause for calm reflection.

"I don't know what courage it would require for the simplest possible matter," I answered. "Or do you consider it a misfortune to cease living a few weeks, and thus strengthen the nerves for a new existence?"

"I stick to it that you haven't the courage to try; that you'll take good care not to let yourself be buried."

"And I say that it would be cowardice to fear, and I have no such timorousness."

Here Bernusi interposed. The wine had gone to his head, too, but he retained his courteous, affable manner, and quietly asserted that I was perfectly right, the matter should not be regarded as an extraordinary thing, and if only Scherr would help him he would gladly place me in this condition of trance.

True, he observed, I had had no practice in holding the breath a long time, by means of which Haridas always made the matter so easy, but if I would take the precaution to keep perfectly quiet for two days, restrict my diet to a few cups of milk, and take rhubarb regularly, he would guarantee a successful result.

Scherr had already become inaccessible to sensible reasoning. He was naturally the most obliging of mortals, but wine speedily made him combative, and when he had once uttered a contradiction he obstinately persisted in it.

So he insisted that it was all sheer nonsense, and that I should not have courage for such a venture. No matter how much I might protest to-night that I did not lack bravery, he would stake his life that, at the moment the deed was to be done, my resolution would pitiably fail.

The result was the one usual in such cases. After a

long wrangle an agreement was made and sealed by the most solemn oaths.

Scherr said that he knew a place, about an hour's ride from Berlin, which seemed as though it had been created for such an interment. It was a gravel-pit in a little wood, where the burial could take place unnoticed and all traces of it could be easily effaced. He undertook to have the grave dug, and agreed to furnish a zinc chest, which appeared to him to be better than a wooden one. Bernusi promised to provide scissors suitable for cutting the ligament of the tongue, and assured us that he would return from a journey to England by December 31st at latest, in order to superintend my recall to life. It was my desire to begin a new existence with the first hours of the New Year.

For my part, I pledged myself to keep my room during the next two days, and to take nothing except milk and rhubarb, according to the directions given by Bernusi. On November 27th, at five o'clock in the afternoon, Bernusi and Scherr were to call for me.

Scherr required Bernusi to swear solemnly that he would not make the slightest attempt to deter me from the plan. He wanted to prove that at the last moment I would show the white feather pitiably.

We all three took our overcoats, for it was nearly morning.

"Good-night, my boy," said Scherr, laying his hand on my shoulder with a significant glance. "You'll make yourself ridiculous enough day after to-morrow; but rest assured that you needn't fear being laughed at all your life."

Bernusi pressed my hand and we parted, each going in the direction of his sleeping-room.

I went to bed at once, and at first it seemed as though

I should fall asleep speedily. The soothing influence of my potations appeared to be stronger than my rebellious nervous system. But the fumes of the alcohol passed away too soon, and a wild confusion of thoughts darted through my brain which, despite my weariness, robbed me of rest.

The events of the evening, even Bernusi's interesting communications, were soon effaced, but Bellamy's dazzling descriptions, my torturing doubts concerning them, the social question, and the thought of the aspirations and desires of the laboring classes whirled ceaselessly through my mind. The next night, too, sleep deserted me, and so, on the afternoon of the 27th, I was in a condition of nervous excitement and physical exhaustion which baffles description, and rendered me incapable of realizing the risk of my strange plan, and on what chances my awakening depended. I had but *one* desire: to sleep, to rest, to forget, and one thought alone had charms for me—the thought of oblivion.

So it was like a sensation of deliverance when Bernusi and Scherr entered the room. A few minutes later we were all three seated in the carriage rolling through the streets.

The conversation turned on matters which, in my situation, had no interest. The foggy weather of the past few days, the moon which rose during our drive, the new regulations in the Chamber of Deputies, etc.

Scherr sometimes cast a watchful glance at me, but he could scarcely have read in the expression of my face any intimation whether he was to triumph or not.

At the end of an hour the carriage stopped on the edge of a little wood. The moon and a lantern lighted us through the trees, and in a few minutes we found ourselves at the gravel-pit Scherr had selected. A grave

had been dug, and a large zinc chest stood beside it. No one uttered a word. Scherr constantly fixed inquiring glances on me.

A chill ran through my veins when I saw the hole and the chest standing ready to receive me. But it soon passed away; the weight on my brain and the pricking sensation in my eyes left no room for any thought save the desire to rest and sleep. Bernusi opened my teeth with a small pair of pincers and put the scissors into my mouth.

"Why, you are perfect children!" cried Scherr, angrily; "do you really mean—"

It was already too late. Bernusi's scissors had done their work. I felt my tongue roll up, closing my throat. I tried to cry out, but in vain. The air in my body stagnated, and in a second I had ceased to think or feel.

It was really all over with me. Did they put me in the coffin and bury me? Did I lie in the grave till the 31st of December, and was I then recalled to existence? That I did come to life again I can prove by this story, for I have actually written it with my own hand since my resurrection. That I have lain in a zinc coffin and in a grave has been declared to me, and even legally certified. But that I was among the living on the first of January, 1891, I could not truthfully assert.

My old friend Scherr—and I think Bernusi also—possessed honorable principles and a loyal heart. They would not have left a friend in the grave beyond the date of agreement, had they not been withheld from awakening him by some irresistible power. Perhaps one may have been lost on the sea-voyage and the other may have died of apoplexy. I have never been able to ascertain, and it will probably remain a mystery forever. But it is a fact that the 1st of January, 1891, and many,

many more New-years' Days passed over the earth while I lay interred in the gravel-pit. At last, however, the hour came when I was taken out, and since that time I have lived as before among good and bad people, and, like them, enjoy the blissful consciousness of existence.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW LIFE.

It was a peculiar feeling when I first opened my eyes with returning consciousness. A vague impression haunted me that I had glanced around two or three times before and seen people busied with me; but the perception was very dim, and I could recall no particulars.

This time it was evident that I had waked from sleep and was in a strange place. The apartment was moderately large; I lay in a comfortable bed, and there were pieces of furniture of various kinds in the room.

I taxed my brain to recall the past and understand the situation, and it was natural that my thoughts should revert to the last incident which had occurred.

So I remembered that the East Indian, Bernusi, had thrown me into a condition of trance. The wine we had drunk, the fantastic tales of the East Indian fakirs, the nervous condition into which reading Bellamy's book had thrown me—all these things recurred to my mind.

Then my eyes chanced to fall upon a calendar which hung on the wall near my bed. I saw, in large figures, the number 29, above which was the word "October," and above that, "Calendar for the year 2001." A thrill ran through my limbs, and I was forced to think whether I was awake or dreaming.

My mind was still very weak, and I was hardly capable of solving a difficult problem. But the enigma here was less perplexing than a sum in mathematics or a philosophical problem. The chance, I argued, that people will leave an old calendar hanging in a room cannot be reckoned among the impossibilities. Whoever does not feel the necessity of hanging up a new calendar, at the commencement of a new year, might easily forget to take down the old one. It might; and frequently does, also happen that people omit to tear off a sheet each day, and therefore a wall calendar shows a date long since past. But it is impossible that people would adorn a room with the calendar of a year still in the distant future, for there are no such calendars, nor is there any object in racking one's brains about the days on the calendar of the future.

In the year 1890 no calendars bearing the date of 1895 or of 1900 will be found on the walls. But what if a calendar is marked 2001? Surely that is a certain proof either that the year is 2001 or that it has already passed. Which of these two conjectures was correct I cared not. I was content to know positively that I was not in a period prior to 2001.

So I was in the golden age Bellamy describes. I had had the same fate as Julian West; like him, I was to behold with my own eyes what had been denied to all our contemporaries. And — all my torturing doubts were to be solved; I could see and test; I should witness for myself how men live, grow, and prosper in this visionary, long desired world.

The feeling that stole over me was a happy and joyous one, but too powerful for a man who was just beginning to regain his vital energy after a death slumber of one hundred and eleven years. Weakness and

faintness overcame me, and I soon sank into a deep sleep.

How long I lay in this slumber of course I do not know, but I woke at a slight noise, and saw that a lady had cautiously entered and was approaching my bed. She wore a dress of the cut and color I had formerly seen used by deaconesses and nurses. Evidently surprised to see my eyes open, she sat down noiselessly in a chair by my bedside.

"Are you really awake, Herr Ost?" she asked, with a tone and look which exerted a very beneficial influence upon me. She was one of those winning persons who never fail to inspire sympathy and confidence.

"I am awake," I answered. But the sound of my own voice startled me. It was scarcely above a whisper, but a whisper in which strange tones blended.

Then I added that I had already begun to suspect in what time I was living, but could not yet understand where I was.

The lady looked at me in some little perplexity.

"All these matters are of minor importance. The fortunate thing is that you have waked, for it assures us that you will speedily gain fresh vigor. Keep very quiet, and you will yet have many beautiful and happy days of existence."

She felt my pulse and forehead, and seemed greatly relieved.

"You will probably remain under my charge for some time, but you shall fare well. There are no ill-disposed people here."

The words sounded so kind and cordial that I felt strangely attracted towards her. I longed to answer in the same friendly way, but perceived that I should be

unable to do so, and contented myself with stammering a few words of thanks.

She did not let me finish.

"Avoid all exertion, Herr Ost. According to the doctor's orders, you must remain perfectly quiet and take strengthening food, though not in large quantities. Probably your stomach will not resume its functions easily."

Of this fact I was soon convinced. My nurse repeatedly gave me a spoonful of old Tokay wine, and a cup of bouillon which seemed to consist of many nutritious, yet digestible substances; but spite of my great hunger everything I ate caused some degree of uneasiness. Besides, I soon became aware of my utter weakness. All my limbs were clumsy and powerless, and my bones seemed like a machine that has long been left rusty, and whose parts, for lack of oil, will not move again.

But the united exertions of the doctor, who visited me several times a day, and of my nurse, who with tireless solicitude did everything which could tend to give me strength and ease, relieved me in a few days from the feeling of total helplessness. I was soon able to spend a few hours daily in a wheel-chair in the garden, and the delightful autumn air, together with the food selected for me with the utmost care, gradually restored my control over my limbs.

The more my strength increased the less restraint my nurse imposed upon herself. She became more communicative, and soon showed no hesitation in telling me the whole truth in regard to my situation. I was in the Emperor and Empress Frederick Institute in Berlin, and the day on which I first awoke was really the 29th of October, 2001. I had been discovered two days before by some workmen who were boring in the gravel-pit.

They had at first believed that they had found the victim of a murderer, but perceiving no traces of corruption in my body, though my clothing crumbled like tinder at the slightest touch, they deemed it advisable to summon a physician and a police officer. It was a fortunate accident that they chanced to call a doctor, who perhaps was the only man able to save me. He was a medical professor *in spe*, whose taste led him to investigate the trance condition, and who had been given, as the subject of his graduating thesis, the task of expounding, on the basis of the results of exact science, whether the accounts of the burials and revivals of fakirs, repeatedly received from India, were to be accepted as true, and how these events could be explained. The plugs of wax in my ears and nostrils gave the young physician the right clew, and when he forced my teeth apart, the rolled-up tongue led him to infer that the man who lay in the chest was not dead but in a trance. Having become familiar with the case through his studies, it had not been very difficult to evoke some of the first signs of returning life.

Nor had he remained wholly ignorant of my identity. A pocket-book with a metal clasp, on which was engraved, "To our dear Friedrich Ost, on his 57th birthday, August 8th, 1890. The three euchre partners," had been found in my coat. So my name was known; and by this date, and a few memoranda which were still legible, the length of my trance could be approximately estimated.

I felt the obligation of explaining to Sister Martha—my nurse had taken this name because, she said, it had become so dear to her while studying Bible history—how my trance had been produced. I did so with a touch of humor, for the whole affair seemed to me extremely comical.

Sister Martha, however, thought that I had been actually blasphemous in thus trifling with the life which God had given, and that I could not be sufficiently grateful to my Creator for permitting me to exist again. The discussion of my case, however, led to the discovery of many points of agreement between us, and thus rendered the period of convalescence very entertaining and pleasant.

Sister Martha was refined and communicative, and though outwardly gay, she had a grave and earnest nature. Spite of the great difference in our ages—she was about twenty-four years old—she fully understood all my interests, and it afforded me genuine pleasure to discuss with her everything that lay specially near my heart. She not only listened with sympathy, but anticipated what I was going to say. Of her own affairs I as yet knew nothing; and much as I would have liked to learn what had induced a woman with her evident vivacity and gay, fresh feelings to choose so young a profession which exacts more self-sacrifice than any other, I did not venture to press her with questions, because when I turned the conversation to her past life she always appeared to shun the subject. Yet she was eager to have me speak of myself, and having nothing to conceal, my former existence soon lay unveiled before her.

One day when, after the successful result of my first feeble effort to walk about my room, I felt assured of my increased strength, I was particularly inclined to enter into a more detailed conversation, and, not without design, turned the talk to the subject which was occupying my own mind and thoughts. I described how, even in childhood, my sympathies had been with the oppressed and suffering rather than with the rich and powerful ones of the earth, and how it had always been

a sorrowful thought to me that the class of prosperous people was so small, while the millions who were compelled to spend their lives in hard labor, amid anxieties and deprivations, numbered so many.

I minutely described the dark side of the world's social system, the wretchedness that frequently exists in the immediate vicinity of wealth and splendor, and the undeniable injustice of having the rich speculator pocket, with very little exertion, an enormous profit, while the laborer, from whose sweat and toil others gain wealth, can hardly obtain bread for himself and his family.

While speaking I did not omit to point out the particularly sad fact that, for want of work, so many people cannot possibly earn a living by honest toil—a melancholy condition of affairs, whose reality is proved in a most pathetic way by the circumstance that the number of crimes always lessens whenever there is an increased demand for labor.

I then passed to my own studies of the social question, relating how for years it had been the main subject of my thoughts and investigations; how earnestly I had endeavored to understand it clearly, not only by careful examination of all the scientific researches into the matter, from whatever rank in life they were made, but still more by thoroughly testing all the actual phenomena of industrial life. While thus engaged, however, I had become more and more convinced that the Government, it is true, can come to the rescue in individual relations by legal interference, but that a universal remedy for the ills of the social system cannot be found; that the social world, like all nature, is guided by fixed laws, and that it would merely occasion fresh disasters if we attempted to introduce human patchwork into this great natural system. "The human race is not yet rich enough," I

concluded, "to supply every one with a well-spread board, and, in my opinion, the sole resource is by increased labor to accumulate fresh amounts of capital—that very capital to which the two extreme parties, the high tories, as well as the social democrats, are so bitterly hostile."

Sister Martha had listened with the most eager attention, and sometimes seemed very much moved when I spoke with increasing warmth of the need of the laboring classes. When I paused she sat in meditative silence.

"You will now understand," I went on, "that I could not help being roused to a singular mood while reading Bellamy's brilliant descriptions. In a no very distant future I found the human race delivered from want. I saw a time when men had ceased to battle against one another in selfish strife, when all the treasures of the earth would be open to every human being in rich abundance and in equal measures.

"But you will also perceive that I was not wholly free from doubts, and that these doubts grew more unendurable the less possibility I beheld of dispelling them. Our nerves are often our masters, and when they prick our limbs and commence their wild career through our brains we can neither control them nor our reason. Such was my condition on the evening I undertook this luckless venture. Even had I realized the folly of my conduct, I could not have refrained by my own strength of will."

"Well, Herr Ost," replied Sister Martha, smiling, "the affair has ended happily, and I hope you won't be sorry to live with us people of the future. Doubtless, too, your nerves will be less rebellious after this long rest. Whether you will find with us what—as I suppose—you desire, time must decide."

"If I am to be perfectly frank," I answered, "I am not at all dissatisfied with my fate, and would not wish

to undo the past. I shall witness in person how humanity fares in the beginning of the twenty-first century, and how affairs are managed in the socialistic government. But what induces you to put such a covert query to me just at the outset of my new career?"

"What induces me, Herr Ost? Why, I am merely giving utterance to my thoughts. I am only a woman, and shall avoid discussing with men the social system and the laws of nature, as you term them. Still, I, too, observe a little, and investigate facts as well as I can. So I cannot help asking myself what is to make men better if they are relieved from all care and struggle? Anxieties and conflicts are a part of human life. They steel the strength and rouse the creative impulse; if they are removed, man will soon live like the beasts, which only trot forward so long as they know the lash is behind. In former times every individul had a sense of responsibility; every man knew that work and food depended upon his own exertions. Now they all have a right to require the Government to give them what it has, and even though they may be under obligations to work for the State, the *secret spur* which urges them to constant toil is lacking."

"Why, you are confounding the present condition of affairs with that of former times," I replied. "The complaint in the old epoch was that the day-laborer had no energy, no interest in his work. Nothing of all he created belonged to him. He toiled his allotted number of hours, always conscious that the stipulated amount of wages must be paid to him, whether he accomplished much or little. This, as I read Bellamy, is precisely where the gratifying change has occurred. The laborer no longer toils for others, but for himself. He knows that no portion of what he creates can be lost, for he

shares in the products of the work with all the others, and it can therefore be only for his advantage if, by the exertion of all his strength, he creates a large quantity of useful wares."

"That might be true," replied Martha, "if men were not men. But I, too, have some little knowledge of them. How useful it is for all to be inspired by genuine public spirit everybody is aware, and they can all make the finest speeches about it. They always promptly perceive any lack of it in others, too. But what if the matter touches their own affairs? What if they themselves are to contribute to the public welfare? Then they see with very different eyes; then it becomes a fundamental principle: myself first, last, and always; and everybody keenly feels that a personal profit is his own, while a profit to the community falls to him only in part and often after a long interval. We need not go down to the lower classes to discern this; the educated classes do not differ from them. I lived for some time in the country near a sugar refinery. The land-owners in the vicinity had formed a company and built it to manufacture sugar from their beets. Strict regulations concerning the manuring, cultivation, and delivery of the beets were made, in order to secure the prosperity of the refinery. Yet serious difficulties often arose in their execution. The poor refinery frequently had to defend itself against its own founders, and sometimes forgot that it had been established for the benefit of the stockholders. That is the way everywhere in the world. Merchants, manufacturers, laborers, do the same. Well as they know how closely their own prosperity is connected with the prosperity of the State, their petty individual interests are always the main object in view, and as a rule they do not think of others. If there is any sacrifice of

strength, effort, and toil, the majority quietly retire into the background. Men do not readily relinquish their beloved ease, and everybody prefers to let some one else labor."

All this was certainly undeniably true, and it vexed me a little that I needed to be told what I had so often noticed on both a large and a small scale. So I was less disposed to yield the point easily. I was not yet convinced that, in a country where no conflict of interests exists, and in which the labor of the nation is organized in such a military manner as Mr. Bellamy describes, public spirit cannot be developed to a sufficient degree to sweep away in the general current the innate laziness and indifference of individuals.

"You may be right in general," I replied, "but you overlook that—as I have read in *Looking Backward*—military discipline awakens universal emulation, and that no one sees any other object in labor than the promotion of his own welfare. For the rest, you must explain why the workman of former days should have felt a stronger stimulus than at the present time. He was then merely a day-laborer, and had no interest save to get through the hours of the day."

"Prior to this great revolution," Sister Martha answered, "the laborer, in a certain sense, was a responsible man, and now he has nothing in the world for which he is answerable to God. In the old days he had himself, his wife, and his children to support, or, if young, he had to provide the means of establishing a home in the future. True, many took this anxiety about wife, child, and future too lightly, and thus fell into want or went to ruin, but the vast majority did their duty in this respect more or less successfully, and if the workman, in his character of day-laborer, felt no special

desire to be industrious and skilful, this anxiety forced him to accomplish enough to have his work deemed worthy of wages. Had he done less he would have lost his place, and with it the means of existence. What, on the contrary, is the position of the modern laborer? His children give him no anxiety whatever; while they are young the State maintains and provides for them, and when they are grown to maturity they receive the same share of the world's goods as he. His wife cannot plunge him into expense; she finds no sphere of activity in her home, for her children are removed from her care, and there is no work in the kitchen or cellar, because the public dining-rooms provide for the sustenance of the body. If the wife is not in a Government institution, on account of having an infant to nurse, she toils and receives the same amount of the common profits as every one else. How is a man to see in labor aught save a source of trouble, a thing which is repulsive to him? He may say to himself that he must work in order to receive his portion, but to put any special strain on his muscles and sinews must appear to him great folly. If he does not satisfy his superiors he can be transferred from one kind of labor to another, but he cannot be deprived of the knowledge that always and everywhere he will receive precisely the same compensation as the most talented, skilful, capable, and industrious workers. No, Herr Ost, scientists may say what they choose; I insist that man needs a stronger motive if he is to become a useful member of society. Extirpate the family feeling, remove all sense of responsibility and care, and you rob him of just what makes toil, spite of its weariness, dear and pleasant. Public spirit alone cannot give him lasting enjoyment in production, least of all production for a community which has deprived him

of all for which the loftiest impulses of his nature yearn."

I could find no weighty argument in reply to these words. One of the doubts which had assailed me while reading Mr. Bellamy's book was that the workmen of the socialistic State could find no sufficient incentive to labor, and while unable to prove the contrary from my own observation, any discussion on this point would have been folly. One thing, however, in Sister Martha's disclosures was new to me—that the maintenance of the children was the charge of the State. I had not found this fact positively stated in *Looking Backward*. True, I remembered having read in Bebel's writings the suggestion that women should remain in public institutions during the time that they were nursing their children, and that all the expenses of education, clothing, and food should be defrayed by the State; but this point was not explicitly mentioned in Dr. Leete's communications. It needed no special reflection to convince me that this care of the children by the State must be the fundamental principle of the socialistic system. If the charge of the children was left to the parents, the principle of equality would henceforth have a vast gap, for a couple with three or four children would be three or four times worse off than childless couples or bachelors and spinsters.

In reply to my question, Sister Martha said that the children were taken from their parents, and that this, in her eyes, was the sorest spot in the modern world. The family was the strongest bond which united society; since this bond was sundered, parents as well as children had been deprived of their most valuable possession and moral support.

"On this point," she remarked, "I can speak some-

what from experience, and if you did not still need to be spared emotion I could tell you things which would deeply stir you. Here in this house, as well as formerly in the children's asylum, I have often witnessed how cruel it is to rob parents of what is the source of their deepest happiness. Whether it is a gain for the human race, whether it elevates morality and strengthens order for people to find a void in their homes, to be driven from their own houses to seek in the amusements of the world compensation for what the heart has lost, are questions which you yourself can answer, and you will find ample opportunity to judge."

I felt not a little disturbed by all that had been said. It was, as has been mentioned, a point of which I had not thought, but whose importance to the social life of the new State I could not undervalue. This touched a point whose moral importance could not be without influence upon the development of the nation in the line of its industrial work, and I saw many things rendered questionable which, while reading Mr. Bellamy's descriptions, spite of all my doubts, I had considered a gain to mankind.

Yet the author of *Looking Backward* had described the advantages of the new government as being specially valuable to the cause of morality. Dr. Leete and his daughter had both been so full of its praises, had described so eloquently how greatly the happy transformation in social life had elevated and ennobled humanity, that Julian West could scarcely find courage to sue for the hand of the favored daughter of such a period of Paradise.

Was it not conceivable that more was gained on the one hand than could be lost on the other? Might not the injuries sustained by the loss of family life have

found abundant compensation in the ennobling power of a social existence devoid of all the pangs of care and struggle, want and misery, envy and jealousy, malice and dissension? Might not the preference for family affection and family cares, which Sister Martha and I cherished, be a hereditary prejudice, which rendered us incapable of doing full justice to the superior advantages of other incentives?

I had intended to enter the new life with an unprejudiced mind; not to allow myself to be influenced by individual phenomena, but to form my opinion solely from the total result. It seemed to me that the value of a system with which I was still unfamiliar should not be sought in what one considers superfluous and another valuable and necessary, but only in the advantages or disadvantages which the nation as a whole, reaps from the changed conditions.

These lights and shadows, I thought, must be most clearly seen in the results of the national industry. So I lost inclination to follow the thread of the conversation, and only felt an increasing desire to plunge with strength and vigor into the whirlpool of life.

But there was a powerful obstacle to this desire. After the long rest of the grave, my mind had recovered tone far more rapidly than my body. Despite my gain in strength, I was still too weak to make the least demand upon my physical powers, and I did not conceal from myself that I must remain for some time in the seclusion of my present refuge. And if, at last, the day of deliverance dawned, what would happen then?

The consciousness of utter helplessness weighed upon me like a mountain. I had reached an age when it is no longer an easy matter to commence unfamiliar work. My muscles were unaccustomed to manual labor, and

I could not suppose that my knowledge would be sufficient for any intellectual pursuit in a time of such progress.

These thoughts weighed on my mind, and an eager conversation about them ensued between Sister Martha and myself. Suggestions of all kinds were made and rejected. But, as usual in such consultations, the exchange of ideas and the consideration of chances finally led to a useful plan, and Sister Martha's practical intelligence contributed no small share to its development.

The Government would have no interest in requiring me to work beyond my strength. It would be glad to offer me first some occupation that could be followed without close familiarity with the new condition of affairs, and time would show in what branch of the administrative or book-keeping department it would be best to employ me permanently. The first thing was to find some person who could throw sufficient influence into the scale, and, at the same time, be benevolent enough to find the scion of a distant past a comfortable position in the modern world. This person Sister Martha thought she knew in the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, a life-long friend of her dead father, who was very fond of her and would take the utmost interest in my fate. Sister Martha promised to write to him the very next day, and assured me of her confidence that she should soon have a satisfactory answer.

So my most oppressive anxiety promised to be speedily relieved. The struggle with ennui and the unconquerable desire to get a glimpse of the outer world still remained. In this case it was I, not Sister Martha, who had the happy thought. I said to myself that if people now, in the year 2001, desired to have a truthful picture of the civilization of the year 1890, they need only take

the newspapers of that period to behold the life of the nation in joy and sorrow, in its material and intellectual pleasures, in its political and religious aspirations, in art and in science.

Ought not the survivor of a distant age to find a similar mirror in the newspapers of the present time? True, liberty of the press must be the basis of this supposition, and this appeared to me doubtful at a time when all the capital invested in type, machines, and paper, as well as all the manual work, is at the disposal of the Government. Still, the attempt might be made, and I told Sister Martha my project. She thought a sight of the daily papers would be a pleasant pastime for me, and undertook to obtain enough to cover several years.

So my mind was at rest; and this first day of returning vital energy closed with bright prospects. Sister Martha took leave of me, and I sought my couch, looking forward with interest and excitement to the morrow.

CHAPTER III.

HOW SOCIALISTIC LIFE APPEARS IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

While I was breakfasting the following morning Sister Martha sent me a large basket filled with newspapers, but informed me that the files were not so complete as she would have desired.

What did I care, however, whether I had the numbers in regular order or not? I wanted to obtain a general picture of the times, not to write a history, and was satisfied to find a useful occupation for several days.

My first task was to introduce a certain degree of system into my studies.

I divided my work into separate portions, intending to examine each one separately, in order not to be confused by the variety of subjects.

My first was to be the advertisements, from which I expected to learn the details of business life. Letters and communications from the different cities would open a view of governmental and communal work; and from the longer articles on special subjects and questions of the day I hoped to gain a tolerably accurate standard by which to measure the light and dark sides of the current of the times. Foreign politics and the affairs of foreign countries had no great interest for me, and would not divert my attention from my investigations.

So I turned first to the advertisements, which in the

past had often wearied me, but were now of great importance, and instantly noted that there were not nearly as many as in the papers of the nineteenth century. The only similarity I found was in the notices of births, deaths, betrothals, and marriages. These are events which the human race cannot escape, let the world move under lucky or unlucky stars.

On the other hand, there were no commercial announcements, entries in the municipal register, mortgages of real estate, notices of bankruptcy, and similar matters. Nothing could be more intelligible to me, for in an age when the Government is the sole employer, commercial enterprises are not allowable, real estate cannot be pledged, and where property and ownership are unknown ideas, the powers of adversity have lost their influence over the prosperity of mankind; market and stock reports must vanish, too, since the price of every article is fixed by Government officials. I found advertisements in almost every paper, but their scope and variety were considerably limited. Invitations to subscribe for stock, offers of loans, and requests for money could find no place in a country where no one is in the pleasant position of loaning capital, or in the disagreeable one of needing money.

There were no advertisements of widows seeking the position of house-keeper, of capable cooks, house-maids, and chamber-maids, of commercial clerks and stewards, tutors and governesses, laundresses and seamstresses, journeymen and apprentices, day-laborers and grooms. Nor did I find any advertisements from employers. No machinists, shoemakers, tailors, brickmakers, confectioners, or dress-makers were offered work. All this was the natural consequence of the socialistic system of production. The Government, as an employer, does not

need to solicit, but can command, and the workman out of employment may deem it more advisable to be sought than to make himself conspicuous.

That houses and landed estates would not be offered for sale was as much a matter of course as that no one would be sought to lease farms.

The Government could not sell lands and houses, because the individual was not allowed to own any property, and he could be only a steward, not a lessee, because the principle of equality permitted no independent enterprise.

But what I found in the advertisements interested me far more than what I missed. Even in the socialistic community they were numerous enough. The Government, as sole producer, was also the sole seller, and the obligations which, in by-gone days, imposed labor and trouble upon the commercial community now burdened its shoulders with the same weight.

It must convey to the consumer what it had created; it must not let perishable commodities spoil; it must seek in the West or the South a sale for articles not wanted in the North. Nay, it could not even be too particular in appraising its wares, for the whole success of the national industry depended upon the rapidity of the sale. Any failure there meant waste of power, and waste of power lost the people some enjoyment which would have been procured by a different use of the squandered force.

The nation's opinion of the administration of affairs was based upon the number of pleasures procured by the productions of the Government, and on this opinion depended the strength and power of the State. Now, as ever, the advertisement was a welcome and indispensable means of finding the right customer for every product.

So I could not wonder that I found notices of goods in every paper and every number. There were not so many columns filled with advertisements as I had been in the habit of seeing, because there was only one seller instead of many; but the number of articles offered was scarcely less. Buckskins, cloth, and winter overcoats, flannel, and cashmere, were advertised in the autumn; thin woolen stuffs, sacks, summer overcoats, calico, and muslin in the spring; oranges in the winter, herrings in summer, marchpane and gingerbread towards Christmas, oysters in the months with an R, and crabs in the months without. For the large cities the finer grades of shoes were advertised, in country districts the coarser ones; in regions near the coast seamen's outfits, in mountainous neighborhoods mountaineers' clothing.

Nor was there any lack of cheap wares; for those who had expensive tastes in some directions were glad to save in others by the purchase of delayed, unfashionable, or shop-worn goods. One of my special aims was to seek in the value of the merchandise advertised some indication of the prosperity of the population, but I could form no definite opinion on this point. True, I found no very expensive wares, and my eyes mainly fell on articles intended for no very exacting requirements; but I did not lose sight of the possibility that the Government, with wise solicitude for simplicity of customs, did not wish to awaken a desire for articles of luxury. Yet I was surprised to find so many announcements which could not fail to lead to the conclusion that the Government was endeavoring to diffuse coarse pleasures as widely as possible.

Though the higher class of plays and the best music were supplied in the larger cities, I was amazed by the too frequent notices of performances by buffoons of all

kinds, singers of ballads and ditties, etc. Alcoholic drinks, especially stomach bitters with new names and new qualities, I found advertised far more frequently than augured well for the health of the nation. Could economical motives have been the incentive here, since moral considerations were evidently not regarded? Talents of a lower order, of course, exist in countless numbers among all nations, and it may not be easy to make them all useful in civil occupations. Perhaps the Government started with the idea that the main wisdom of political economy was contained in the fundamental principle of applying every power to those things in which they could accomplish most.

This opinion might not be so completely mistaken. It is difficult to make all these third and fourth rate geniuses devote themselves to useful work; but if they are allowed to display their talents to men, they will show tireless energy and great industry. On the other hand, there are always numbers of people who like to witness the performances of such artists. If they are offered many pleasures of this kind they will be satisfied, and in the same proportion in which the value of their credit cards is diminished by the cost of the performances, their demand for other things obtained by the production of the Government will be lessened. Lightening of labor and decrease of antagonism would be the pleasant result. The same object would be attained by affording an unlimited supply of drink and dancing. To make a very popular liquor from very ordinary brandy by adding essences, though persons of finer taste may be dissatisfied, requires no great expenditure of labor, and many people are far more ready to play dance music than to undertake tasks requiring skill and strength. People who find their amusement in dance-

ing and drinking brandy get no opportunity for adverse criticism, and are easily supported by a government whose most difficult task is the rational employment of the industrial army.

Though aware that all this was little more than an unproved conjecture, it seemed to find confirmation in the great number of advertisements of apartments which I read in the papers of all the cities. I had not imagined that in a social democratic State the allotment of residences could be a matter of speculation. I had supposed that the Government would assign the more commodious or better-situated apartments according to seniority, or as a reward for special industry or special zeal, while the more remote or less convenient dwellings would be occupied by younger or less distinguished people.

But a glance at the numerous advertisements could not fail to convince me that I had been mistaken.

Evidently the purpose of the Government was to rent fine vacant rooms again at a high price as quickly as possible, and let the less valuable ones remain empty. This was in harmony with its interests. Any one who paid a large amount for rental out of the income secured by the credit cards would have just so much less for the purchase of other necessaries, and therefore would be compelled to restrict his demands upon the products of the national labor.

The houses once owned by the State required no more labor. But, as the very people who have a taste for fine houses are also admirers of the articles whose manufacture requires much skill, care, and labor, handsome quarters would also curtail the most burdensome demands in other directions. Therefore, houses that commanded a high price would be cheap to the State, and cheap ones,

on the other hand, would be dear. Still, as has been said, I had not yet the slightest proof of these conjectures, and was forced to leave them uncertain.

Among the impressions made by the advertisements I could only regard as reliable the fact that the distribution of products, which was formerly the task of the commercial classes, was also an important branch of activity in the social democratic Government; that the latter, though sole producer, could not avoid the good or even the doubtful practices of the merchant, and this not so much for the purpose of increasing the amount of the sales—which in former days was the main purpose of commercial activity—as to prevent public demands upon production from passing the bounds of cheapness and moderation.

At the same time I compared the contents and extent of the advertisements of the socialistic Government with the far more comprehensive picture I retained of the advertisements of my own past, whose manifold variety reflected like a mirror the struggle and haste of the times, the pressure for progress and improvement, the search for labor and occupation, the whole rivalry of contending powers, and the belief seemed to me absolutely free from doubt that the incitement to progress contained in this very struggle could not exist in the social democratic State. I found, however, a much greater rivalry when I entered the sphere of local reports. To the best of my recollection, I had always obtained from the reports of the different cities the impression that the actual construction of public institutions and improvements had not kept pace with the public demand for them; that a checking, restraining power had everywhere been busy in maintaining a certain stability of existing relations. I had found but a

single explanation of this phenomenon — that the expense of the arrangements would be an obstacle, and that the Government officials, the magistrates, and city councilmen, who had to estimate the costs, from a very natural fear of increased taxes or too large an addition to the burden of debt, did not always show the greatest consideration for the wishes of the public.

In the social democratic State a total change had occurred. There was not a city in Germany whose magistracy did not show the utmost public spirit. All scruples and pecuniary considerations seemed to have vanished with the disappearance of money, which had formerly played so important and not always encouraging a part. Notices of important projects came from all quarters. A report from one city announced that the magistracy and representative citizens had resolved to transform a wood two miles distant into a large park with fountains, and build a double-gauge road to it. From another came tidings that, in consequence of a resolution of the authorities, all the manufactories were to be torn down and replaced with new ones of twice the size and furnished with model hygienic arrangements. From a third, a farming town hitherto much neglected, news was received of an agreement to pave all the streets with asphalt and supply them with convenient sidewalks.

A little town of 3000 inhabitants was rejoicing over the determination of the authorities to conduct into the place the water of an especially fine spring from a mountain twenty miles away, and supply every story in the houses with this excellent water.

And so continued the announcement of all the various noble plans, which in the space of a year probably numbered a thousand. Evidently communal efforts were no longer directed as much as before to the en-

couragement of traffic and manufactures—probably in the socialistic Government the inhabitants lacked personal interest in them—but more to institutions for comfort and pleasure, and I could see only too distinctly how much remains to be done in order to make the earth agreeable to all its inhabitants.

I could not have failed to perceive in this respect one advantage of the socialistic system—for what can be more delightful than to have mankind set the refinements of life above the pursuit of money?—had I not unfortunately noted that here also individual interest was the main-spring, and that on all sides wishes had been uttered whose fulfilment would have been prejudicial to the community. But since these desires were objectionable they would not be carried out, and as I could not fail to notice, from other local communications, the government of the empire seemed to have usually put a quietus on the local patriotism of the city magistrates.

I was led to this conjecture by the perception that I read a great deal about resolutions passed, but very little of completed enterprises. On the contrary, apart from these ideas and plans, I found nothing in the local reports concerning communal affairs, save loud complaints of gross neglect and violent attacks upon the central Government.

"It was a crying injustice," some one wrote from Laage, "that the workmen needed for repaving the streets had not been sent, while in Tessin, close by, all the pavements had been repaired in the most careful manner."

"One can scarcely regard it as a memorial of equal justice," lamented a correspondent from Neukalen, "that for years our city has vainly asked for electric light, while Dargun had it even in the old days."

"It is exasperating," wrote some one from Frankfort-

on-the-Main, "that everybody who doesn't live in Berlin ranks nowadays as a second-rate German. New palaces, pleasure-grounds, and parks appear every year in the sacred capital, while our historic old city, with its large foreign trade and favorable situation, cannot get the simplest improvements, and the constant diminution of the force of laborers in the municipal service is bringing everything to ruin."

"Our city," came on the other hand from Berlin, "has for centuries, through the care of its magistrates, enjoyed the best repute; but since the use of the industrial force of the whole community has been placed at the disposal of the central Government even the most pressing needs are no longer supplied. No matter what our city authorities ask, the usual *non possumus* invariably meets them."

"If we but had our former system of management," wrote some one from little Lychen, "our town would long ago have built a hospital, instead of having our sick die in the present old barrack. But under the socialistic rule our masons no longer seem to be available for our own buildings."

"The 5000 workmen employed on our harbor," wrote an indignant correspondent from Lubeck, "were yesterday ordered by a telegram from Berlin to aid in harvesting, and our seamen's hopes seem to be again destroyed for this year. This sacrifice would be willingly made for the general good did it not become more and more evident that the central Government lacked proper energy in its demands upon the rural laborers."

Reading all these local reports—of which only a small number can be given here—was by no means reassuring.

They completely destroyed the picture Mr. Bellamy's descriptions had created. Instead of the brilliant pros-

perity which Julian West had witnessed in Boston, and which, according to Dr. Leete's explanations, must be supposed to be progressing everywhere, I found nothing but universal discontent expressed in the newspapers. I could not help believing it impossible that such a mood would exist without the least occasion for it. But might not the dissatisfaction perhaps originate in extravagant demands? Might not the great wealth so suddenly diffused everywhere, the pleasure-grounds and arrangements for the comfort and amusement of the public so rapidly created, have awakened insatiable desires whose demands upon the industry of the Government were beyond human power to fulfil? To obtain any clear understanding of the true state of affairs, while in my sick-room, seemed to me impossible. As yet I had seen nothing of the new world, and could not personally test a single case. The only way of solving the enigma which suggested itself was to bring one's individual intelligence to bear upon it, and judgment often deserts us when we are far away from the facts. What I succeeded in comprehending, by dint of pure reasoning, ran nearly as follows:

So long as property had been the fundamental basis of the social system, every city, every community, had to provide for itself according to the extent of its means. With the transfer of property to the Government, and the legal recognition of the material equality of all men, the property of communities had vanished, for otherwise residents of poorer places would have been at a great disadvantage in comparison with residents of richer ones.

Communal arrangements, therefore, could be made only by the Government, as the sole holder of capital and the dispenser of the common production. As the aspirations and wishes of the various communities could

be gratified only with the consent and by the direct order of the Government, the communities had announced what the magistrates and committees of citizens had considered necessary or desirable, and the Government, by its estimates, had to determine, according to the means at its disposal, which of these demands could be granted and which could not. As the task of creating, with the labor at its command, everything that was necessary, useful, and pleasant, had now devolved upon the Government, while its powers of production were limited by the capacity, and probably the good-will, of the workers, it was compelled, like any worthy father of a family, to separate the necessary from the useful and the useful from the pleasant, making the first outrank the second and the second the third.

According to the nature of men and magistrates, which has undergone no change since the beginning of the world, it may be supposed that both have desired not only the necessary and the useful things, but also the pleasant ones, so that complete harmony of opinion concerning the boundary between what was necessary, useful, or pleasant, did not always exist.

It is also to be supposed that men in general regard those things which each individual deems necessary for his personal wants, or even agreeable, as more important and urgent—at least it was so under the natural order of the world—than what is merely useful to the whole body of inhabitants. If all these propositions are true—and I don't know what objection could be raised to them—the organs of the socialistic Government must fulfil their task in such a manner that, in the first place, the wishes of the people proceeding from personal inclination are gratified, while maintaining due regard for what individuals demand without considera-

tion for others. This is the only way in which deep-seated dissension in the nation can be avoided. Secondly, the protection and perfecting of agriculture, manufacturing establishments, implements of labor, etc., must be considered—otherwise there would be danger that, with the growth of the population, not even personal wants could be satisfied; and, thirdly, care must be taken to grant, as far as possible, all the manifold demands for the comfort and pleasure of the inhabitants made by the various communities all over the empire. If a Government can satisfactorily perform this third task also, it will be a sure indication that it stands at the summit of the socialistic idea.

This token I had unfortunately failed to find in any of the newspaper reports. Nay, the advertisements, as I have remarked, led to the supposition that the State encountered difficulties in dealing even with the first problem. But as yet I had no certain proofs—nor could I judge from facts—whether the cause was the momentous one that the productive power of society had lessened. Sister Martha had made this assertion, and had had good reasons for doing so, but I could not accept Sister Martha as an authority.

Under such circumstances, I determined not to let myself be fretted just now, but to quietly await what the near future would bring. Above all, I struggled against allowing the slightest prejudice against Julian West or Dr. Leete to enter my mind.

Continuing my studies, I directed my investigation towards another point, which is of extreme importance in any mode of developing society. I turned to the reports of crimes and misdemeanors. Here, however, I could not help ascertaining that Julian West had been misinformed by his authority. Dr. Leete had asserted

that offences connected with property could not exist in a country where all men had an ample and equal income; yet I found a number of such misdeeds. True, thefts of money or of valuable papers had become an impossibility, since both had ceased to exist; but other things were stolen as frequently as ever before in the history of the world. One lady had been robbed of a silk gown which she had just bought in the bazaar. Others had lost jewels, shawls, gloves, or fans. Artificial flowers, veils, or handkerchiefs had often been the *corpus delicti.*

Intentional exchanges of overcoats and hats or umbrellas in restaurants or beer-gardens were complained of in all the towns. Nay, even robberies were not infrequent occurrences. Persons carrying home bread from the bake-shops or sausages from the butcher's were but too often robbed of their property. Sometimes they were knocked down, sometimes snuff was flung into their eyes, sometimes disguised men had snatched the articles from their owner's hands and darted off at the top of their speed. In this respect I could perceive a difference from the state of affairs I remembered of old in one detail only. These offences did not occur with the same uniformity in point of time, but the greater number of cases happened in the months just before the credit cards were issued. So the cause probably lay mainly in the lack of thrift of many persons who, by premature exhaustion of their funds, were plunged into extreme want.

The article most frequently stolen was the credit card, and this very thing had for years given rise to the most extensive discussion in the organs of the police authorities and of the Government, as well as by the general public. So far as I could gather from the odd numbers

of the newspapers at my disposal, the state of affairs was somewhat as follows:

Directly after the establishment of the new form of government, frequent announcements of lost credit cards were made. The Government then, by proclamation in all the papers, promptly declared them worthless, and provided the losers with fresh cards marked "duplicates" for the remaining time. But the nearer the end of the year approached, the more the loss of credit cards resembled an epidemic. The Government clearly perceived that the evil lay deeper than the mere loss of the credit cards, and found itself compelled to issue a general warning, coupled with the formal statement that henceforward no substitutes for lost credit cards would be issued. This declaration was received by one portion of the nation with approval, by another with loud lamentations. The Government, said some, had no right to withhold from a single citizen his lawful share of the profits of the general industry; it would be contrary to the fundamental idea of the socialistic government. If a person lost his credit card it was a misfortune that might befall anybody. But this misfortune of individuals ought never to be made the cause of releasing the Government from its first and most sacred duty. Meetings were called, speeches made, resolutions passed. Whoever spoke in favor of compensation for the lost credit cards was hailed with applause, the others were hissed down; and since it had been noticed that the Jews had usually made careful use of their credit cards and did not commonly lose them, the hissing was mingled with shouts of "Jews!" and "Jew-mates!" When, however, the people found that the Government firmly adhered to its point, a compromise was proposed.

The matter in every instance was to be proved, and

the Government could only be called upon to supply a new credit card where ample proof was furnished. But as a loser was rarely able to verify by witnesses the manner in which he had lost his card, he was obliged, as soon as he communicated the fact, to take a solemn oath, after serious warning. If he took this oath, the proof was always considered to be furnished. This suggestion was at first very coolly received, and perhaps might have met with the fate of passing unheeded into oblivion had not a very influential society supported it. This was the Society for the Moral and Physical Welfare of the Nation, as it called itself. It had disseminated, by means of millions of handbills, the statement that it seemed necessary to bring the human race to a consciousness of the moral height to which the new order of things had raised it. With the destruction of the system of robbery and the abolition of capital man had been freed from slavery, and it would be a crime against a rescued world to attribute a base action to a free man. So long as the desire for gold and property poisoned men's hearts, reliance upon an oath would have been a dangerous venture, but to the true children of social democracy every scruple of this sort was an insult. So the people must unanimously urge upon the State to fulfil, by the aid of administering the oath, its duty to those who lost their cards.

These lofty words produced a powerful impression, and it is difficult to foresee what might have happened had not an event occurred which stands alone in the history of the human race. Something befell which had never chanced before, and probably will never be repeated, even in the most distant future. Under the stress of the peril threatening justice and honesty, all the churches and religious sects had banded together for a common

object. The lights of the faith had flocked from all parts of the country, and, letting the battle-axe of hatred rest for a time, made common cause with one another, so that the world, to its amazement, had the spectacle of beholding Catholics and Protestants, Lutherans and members of the Reformed Church, leave the meetings in the utmost harmony; nay, the pugnacious leader of the orthodox party — he was known as a second Stöcker or third Luther — was seen walking arm in arm with the chief rabbi in the street.

The meetings had the best result, and a brilliant deputation, in which all dogmas and forms of faith were represented, had presented to the chancellor of the empire, in the name of religion and faith in God, a petition to protect society from a measure whose inevitable result would be the destruction of faith and piety. The spectacle of harmony from a source whence people had been accustomed to behold the germs of discord had produced so powerful an impression that the Government obtained the strengthening necessary to retain the resolution that no compensation would be given for lost credit cards.

But the luckless credit card was not yet permitted to rest. Though the possibility of wresting an increased amount of credit from the State must be abandoned, the people now sought aid by requesting advances for the coming year. Petitions by thousands poured in from the unlucky mortals who had sinned against the rules of economy and reached the end of their resources at too early a date. Not a single individual lacked cogent reasons. Unusual household expenses, accidents in travelling, loss of provisions and clothing by dampness, fire in the house, lack of durability of materials used in garments or shoes, hard wear of leather by constantly working in water, every possible pretext was alleged for the

premature exhaustion of the credit card. The gaps in my series of papers would not permit me to discover how this first attack on the Government resulted, but, as a consequence, all granting of advances was declared inadmissible. A proclamation was issued representing that the lofty socialistic society expected a wise economy from every citizen, and therefore the Government saw itself compelled to act with inexorable sternness against any trespass of the law. Persons without means would henceforth find support only in prisons and on a diet of bread and water. Yet even this could not relieve the credit cards from their uncertain position. On the contrary, the Government's extreme solicitude for them became a source of peril. If people could get no help from the State, they must aid themselves. Countless communications concerning thefts of credit cards filled the papers, and there was scarcely a technical method of transferring a thing from the hands of an authorized owner to those of an unauthorized one which was not used. Secret removal from the pocket, opening of locks by means of night-keys, breaking into rooms, assault, attempted assassination, murder—every way of securing an unauthorized transfer of property was employed to increase the income of those who found no satisfaction even in the socialistic State, and the principle of equal income was not aided thereby. In vain did the Government post in all places where sales were made the most urgent warnings to identify those who presented cards. Whoever succeeded in obtaining another person's card need only take a pleasant little journey at the expense of the man robbed, and easily reach a place where no seller could know that the name on the card was not his own. Was the Government obliged to compensate the person who had been robbed or not? Was equality of

income destroyed in the one case more than in the other?

These were questions which speedily arose and were eagerly discussed. Some maintained that the preservation of order was the duty of the Government, and it alone should be the sufferer if it failed to fulfil this duty; others argued that being robbed was a misfortune which the person concerned must bear, and the Government ought not to recompense the individual at the expense of the community, which would be the case if the whole income of the State were lessened on account of the stolen cards. After long discussion, the conclusion was at last reached that compensation would not be allowable if the thief was not captured, but should be made in all cases where he was discovered. Whether the former or the latter instances were the more numerous I could not determine with any certainty.

Still, the system of credit cards was not perfect, and the press, faithful to its old task, did not fail to make frequent suggestions of improvement. First came the proposal to abolish the credit card entirely, and introduce instead Bebel's little tokens of gold or tin. But the gold was unanimously rejected without ceremony, because tokens made of gold were money, and restoration of money would undermine the very foundations of the social democratic Government. Tin at first had a small number of followers, but after a short discussion, the opinion prevailed that tokens made of it could be imitated too easily. Another suggestion was that the credit cards should be issued for a month only, instead of a year; but the objection to this was that the distribution of the cards was too troublesome a matter to allow the luxury of frequent repetition. During this distribution the identification of each individual

was necessary, and thus so much time was consumed that, though the places of distribution were multiplied and an unusual number of officials was employed, the business could scarcely be accomplished in a day, and thereby the majority of the people lost a working-day. A loss of twelve working-days annually would be a detriment to the whole community. A third idea found more favor—namely, to give to each person, instead of one, twelve credit cards of equal amount, and thus prevent any person from being deprived of his whole income by loss or robbery. This idea, too, did not lack objections. Some thought that it would only make thievery easier, and others feared that the multiplication of cards might be troublesome and dangerous in travelling. The resolutions concerning changes in the manner of payment, however, do not yet seem to be ended, and it is to be hoped that some expedient satisfactory to all parties will be found. Much applause was elicited by a proposal that the Government should bestow a decoration of honor—a red ribbon—upon the person who should invent the best device for wearing the credit card in a case under the clothing, which, while secure, would permit the owner to draw it out and restore it with ease.

From the above communications, the reader will perceive that I am perfectly right in believing Mr. Bellamy to be mistaken in regard to the disappearance of crimes connected with property. They very frequently occur in the socialistic community. That all other offences—and according to statistics they far outnumbered, under the old system, those occasioned by property—must be lessened is not to be expected on any substantial ground, and it will not be difficult for me to cite a little catalogue of crimes which find their

source in the new order of affairs or are not prevented by it.

A young wife, after spending nine months in a hospital to nurse her infant, found on her return home that her husband had bestowed his heart upon another woman. She watched him, and one day, as he was returning from a call upon his new love, flung the contents of a bottle of vitriol into his face. She was sentenced to a severe punishment.

The manager of an agricultural business dealt one of the workmen a blow for torturing animals, and was fined 300 marks.

Another steward was asked by his superior why a sow noted in the record had devoured her litter of six pigs, and received the reply that he knew of no reason, except that she perhaps wished to withdraw her children from the influence of the higher authorities. He was sentenced, for insubordination and contempt of the magistracy, to four weeks' imprisonment and degradation to the rank of laborer. His consolation probably was that he could not be deprived of his income.

Violent scenes had occurred in a popular assembly. Farm laborers had offered a resolution that for all dirty work, such as milking, removing stable dung, or using artificial manure, the hours of labor should be lessened one-half.

On the other hand, the porters protested that there would be far more justice in reducing their hours of toil; and these were again opposed by a protest from the street-cleaners. As the war of words in the assembly could not settle whether the uncleanliness of agricultural labor, or the health-destroying quality of the porter's trade, or the humiliation of the street-cleaner's calling, was just ground for the reduction of working

hours, the dispute was continued in the street in a tangible manner, and, to afford a more convincing explanation, stakes had been torn from a neighboring fence. This incident was brought to the notice of the courts, and, in consequence, a number of persons who had broken their stakes over other people's skulls were sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment for injuries inflicted upon Government property, and a minority who had injured the said skulls were condemned to several months' confinement in jail.

In another popular assembly a speaker had called the ministers a mob of hypocrites, who wanted to rule in a social democratic Government without being really social democrats. He was condemned to six weeks' imprisonment.

A woman who had forced her way into her neighbor's rooms to lecture him on account of the unclean condition of the court-yard had not obeyed his request to withdraw, and had therefore been sentenced to a week's confinement for a breach of the peace.

An elderly man had denounced the keeper of a storehouse for delivering goods at half price to a young lady whom he loved, but as the lady, on being summoned as a witness, swore upon oath that the charge was false, he was imprisoned for slander.

The driver of a hack had driven four of his friends a short distance, and forgotten to cut their credit cards, but as bribery could not be proved he escaped with being degraded to the position of drayman.

A street-sweeper who carelessly soiled a lady's cloak was sentenced to clean sewers.

A sewer-cleaner had been insubordinate to his superior officer, but as he could be degraded to no lower position no punishment could be imposed.

A country laborer's wife had tolled a number of hens to lay their eggs in her room, and was punished by imprisonment for appropriating the property of the Government.

A nervous gentleman whose soup was salted too much had termed the restaurant a hostlery fit only for pigs, and was sentenced to jail for insulting the Government.

These little items, culled hap-hazard from the papers as they came into my hands, will suffice to show that the socialistic form of government, in and of itself, will not secure a diminution of crime, and that Dr. Leete must have been a strange observer if he asserts it, and represents it as a consequence of the socialistic plan of government. Crime will diminish in every country in exact proportion to the increase of the number who are content with their condition. But contentment does not find the conditions of existence in the number of wants which society can gratify, but depends mainly upon whether the individual finds complete satisfaction for his highest needs in the mode of life shaped by the arrangements of society. A poor nation may be happier than a rich one if the latter lacks what the heart seeks.

Since, from my own observation, I did not yet know what measure of material goods the socialistic community could produce, much less how far the system satisfied the people, I was forced to content myself for the present with noting the facts I had discovered, and reserving my opinion until I had a better knowledge of the condition of affairs.

That civil lawsuits must lose importance under the socialistic form of government I had not doubted. If the millions no longer exchanged their services, but all mankind carried on business with a single merchant, the

number of complaints and differences of opinion must necessarily diminish. Yet I found reports of transactions from which I perceived that civil suits had not been wholly abolished.

Herr Schulze had smoked with his friend Müller a cigar that suited his taste exactly; but Müller would not tell him the place where he purchased it. The day before Herr Müller had drunk some Rhine wine at Schulze's house, which he liked extremely, but the latter had declined to tell him where to get it. Both agreed on an exchange, Müller delivering a box of the cigars to Schulze, and the latter a certain quantity of wine to Müller. Both had received notice a few days before from the warehouses that the goods were still in stock. When the delivery was made Schulze's cigars proved satisfactory, but Müller's wine was evidently an inferior grade. As Schulze could not supply the wine Müller desired, he declared himself ready to take it back and return the cigars, but Müller considered himself aggrieved, and would not accept the offer. Being fond of good wine, he had paid fifty marks more for the cigars than Schulze gave for the wine, and, besides, he was no smoker himself—merely kept a good brand in the house for his friends, as a hospitable man. A thousand cigars was far too large a quantity for this purpose. To avoid a quarrel Schulze had offered to supply the extra fifty marks in other wares, but as Müller had no use for the cigars he declined this proposal also. A long lawsuit followed, which had not yet been decided.

The complainant, Müller, had requested that the defendant, Schulze, should be sentenced to take back the wine, and deliver such goods as the complainant might select, to the value of 250 marks. The defendant had

replied that a payment of 450 marks for articles of luxury—namely, 200 for wine and 250 for cigars—would draw so heavily upon the value of his credit card that he would not have enough left to obtain needful food and clothing. The following questions came up for decision:

1. Is the Government obliged to indemnify Schulze if, on the guarantee of one of its officials that a certain kind of wine is still in stock, he orders this wine, and it then proves to be of inferior quality?

2. If not, is this inability of the Government to deliver wine of the same quality to be to Schulze a *vis major*, which releases him from the obligation to compensate Müller for the inferiority of the wine?

3. If not, is Müller to be considered sufficiently compensated by the return of the cigars he delivered, and the fifty marks which were paid in addition, though he is unable to use the aforesaid cigars?

4. If not, can Schulze be compelled to pay the sum for the cigars and the wine from his credit card, though he proves that he will not have enough left for the necessaries of life?

5. If not, is Müller obliged to wait for the reimbursement of the amount he paid for the cigars until new credit cards are issued, though he produces proof that, in order not to deprive himself of the necessaries of life, he will be forced to dispense with the wine which he has been ordered to drink daily for the benefit of his health?

Helene Alberti, the wife of a prominent Government official, whose physician had prescribed an egg diet for weakness of the stomach, could not find a sufficient supply in the markets. [The reader will learn in the course of these communications the cause of this strange scarc-

ity.—D. H.] Emilie Haberland, the wife of a respectable shoemaker, whose love of dress had drawn heavily upon her credit card, and who was a friend of the manager of the Central Market, undertook to get the eggs, receiving from Frau Alberti the promise of a new hat as soon as she was guaranteed the delivery of 240. Emilie Haberland's friendly relations resulted in Frau Alberti's being notified, at the end of a few days, that the 240 eggs were waiting for her at the market. After receiving them, the latter, to her horror, discovered that 67 had chickens and 103 were too old to use. Thus she had sustained considerable loss by their purchase, and therefore did not feel obliged to pay Frau Haberland the promised hat. The latter brought suit, which has not yet been decided. To reach a verdict that will be in harmony with law and justice is by no means easy.

The Government gives no guarantee of the excellence of its wares. [The reader will soon learn why.—D. H.] There is no proof that the manager of the Central Market exceeded his official authority. Frau Haberland tried in an honest way to obtain the eggs, and her efforts were successful. Therefore she was injured when the promised hat was not delivered. On the other hand, Frau Alberti undoubtedly expected to receive fresh eggs from Frau Haberland, who knew why she wanted them. Most of the eggs were uneatable, and she paid a high price. She would be doubly injured if she was also compelled to pay Frau Haberland a hat for her labor, which, both in her understanding and the honest intention of Frau Haberland, cannot be considered an actual service. I am no jurist, and therefore will not venture an opinion, but I think in this case, also, a verdict cannot be reached without legal acumen.

Herr Michael Schönthau, a tailor by trade, had a great fancy for elegant residences, and occupied the lower floor of a house in Friedrichstrasse, which had plate-glass windows. Unluckily, two of these windows were broken on the same morning—one by the shaft of a passing vehicle, the other by a locksmith going to his work with an iron bar on his shoulder, which a saucy lad pushed off. According to law, Herr Schönthau, like all tenants, was obliged to keep the window-panes in repair, but had a right to demand compensation from the breakers of the panes who, under the socialistic form of government, were as well off as he. But fearing that both might succeed in evading the duty of compensation by proving the interference of a higher power, he thought it advisable to apply directly to the Government as the employer in whose service both roamed through the streets with implements dangerous to windows. His claim was refused, and he appealed to the law. The court held that the Government was answerable for the window-pane shattered by the carriage; for, as it was proved that the horse had once run away, the fault could not be imputed to the driver. On the other hand, a locksmith was a workman like any other, though he used a dangerous implement in the service of the State, and an employer could not be expected to pay damages for injuries inflicted by an accident to one of his laborers upon a third person. I must leave criticism of this verdict to jurists.

These few instances will show that, even in the socialist Government, disputes between men are not abolished. They will also afford an idea of the nature and variety of the cases in which, according to their dispositions and character, people obey the impulse to defend or seek their supposed rights by appealing to the law. By far

the greater number of complaints which came to my notice, however, were directed against the nation, or, rather, against the Government. The State was the producer and purveyor of all goods. It was the sole producer and the sole merchant. Everything that it made as producer, and sold as merchant, was created by persons who were not angels but human beings. And this luckless State itself was cramped in every direction by all the frailties and weaknesses which are the sorrowful heritage of man. It had neither eyes nor ears anywhere, and was dependent in all its work upon the zeal and industry of people who considered it, and not themselves, responsible for everything. On the other hand, those to whom it was to deliver the products of its labor confronted it with an undiminished measure of wants and wishes. They had created a new social system, but not for the purpose of practising self-sacrifice and destroying longings, for dissatisfaction had been the cause of this transformation. They had expected something more and better from a system of production which removed the motive for the struggle for existence, the rivalry of different powers, and the pursuit of gain, and directed every organized function of the various portions according to the special rules of the State. What marvel if men expected a government equipped with such wonderful powers to give them what they desired, and to give it unmarred by the deficiencies and weaknesses which could not be avoided so long as production was a common manufacture by different persons, where all worked independently at the parts accidentally allotted. What marvel that men often failed to be satisfied with a government which did not possess the power of God and did not have angels in its employ?

The number of complaints made against the State

must really have been enormous. The newspapers published only the smaller portion of them, but what I read showed me that the expectations of the people and the performances of the Government were by no means in harmony. On the contrary, there seemed to be as many sources of complaint as, in the ordinary course of nature, there are imperfections in the things used for the service of men. It was said that butter was rancid, herring oily, and cheese specked. Coffee in one instance was declared to taste of kerosene. Some people had received rotten fruit, others spoiled preserves, and others, still, wormy rice. The bread was often stale and dry. Cigars had sometimes lacked flavor. Cocoa and chocolate proved musty. Meat, especially, was the source of many complaints; sometimes it was too bony, sometimes not fat enough, sometimes too tough, and sometimes even spoiled. In former times competition had largely, though not invariably, served as a protection; in the socialistic community the lack of competition did not appear to have proved a safeguard.

With regard to clothing, complaints were sometimes made concerning the want of durability of the material, but far more frequently of seams ripping, buttons falling off, and trimming badly put on. Complaints of the lack of durability of shoes were increasingly frequent. The water-proof boots of laborers in the country had often been far from water-tight; the soles of walking boots had not been firmly put on, and the frequency of the complaints led me to believe that the Government had found it no easy matter to exercise satisfactory control over the shoemakers in its mammoth workshops, now that they no longer feared loss of patronage. Who can blame people for not remaining silent and uncomplaining? "We are forced to stint and torment our-

selves," they said, "and if the Government calls upon us for work we cannot refuse. So we are entitled to demand that it shall furnish us with good wares, and produce, not worse, but better articles than were manufactured in former times." As the Government, however, found itself unable to remove all grievances, there was nothing for people to do except to resort to the law and seek compensation or redress. They could easily do this because the Government was so liberal in providing legal assistance gratis. Most of the complaints seemed to have been rejected for lack of proof; in some the Government had been condemned; but these numerous complaints and grievances proved the occasion of its casting off the burden once for all, and in the most effectual manner. The public was by no means agreeably surprised one day by a placard put up in all places where anything was sold—a placard bearing in large letters the words: "NO GOVERNMENT GUARANTEE WILL BE GIVEN FOR PERFECTION OF MATERIAL OR EXCELLENCE OF WORK." This seemed to be a radical method of curing the populace of a desire to go to law against the Government, which could not fail to be harmful to the community. Whether it will prove equally effective in removing human discontent the future must determine.

I was not reluctant to leave a department of study which by no means realized my joyous anticipations, and I felt the more pleased when, turning to another part of the literature of the day, I chanced upon a real ray of light in the socialistic order of affairs. It was doubtless owing to my former interest in agricultural pursuits that, glancing through the articles upon the questions of the day, my attention was first arrested by that of damage done by game. This problem has really been most admirably solved by the socialist Government. I do not

mean that the question has simply been pushed aside by the transfer of all lands to the State, thereby abolishing all the small farmers who were bold enough to complain of the injury done to their crops by the game of the owners of large estates, but because, after the introduction of the new order of things, the time had really come when the Government perceived that the public welfare was better served by protecting the labor of the farmer than the love of the chase. Even in the transformation of affairs this was not accomplished at a single blow. At first there were plenty of newspaper articles complaining that, by the increase of game, crops had been damaged and potato fields uprooted, or by hunting through the ripening harvest fields much corn had been destroyed. But these articles, which in former times had not been specially well received by the Government, at last found satisfactory attention.

The socialistic Government perceived that the land belonged to it alone, and this perception led to the belief that the sanctity of property was a wise maxim for a good Government. It perceived, too, that it alone had to manure and to plough, to sow and to reap, and doubtless the spectacle of ravaged fields awakened a touch of that feeling which in former times stirred the peasant's breast when he saw the fruit of his toil partly destroyed and himself helpless. To reach this perception and to put an end to the privileges of the chase had been but a single step. In the shortest possible time all the woodlands were fenced in, and hunting in any tilled fields was forbidden on pain of the most severe penalties. So in this respect peace had come to the country. Game could be reared and fed in the forests as cattle were in the farmers' stables. They could be hunted or spared as seemed desirable. Lovers of the chase could

enjoy their favorite amusement in the woods to their hearts' content, and the public never had the vexation of seeing the results of their industry destroyed by the law protecting game.

"Poor farmers of the nineteenth century," I involuntarily thought, "it needed the social democratic Government to release you from the fears which, owing to the law protecting the pleasure which rich men took in hunting, haunted your honest toil." *

But turning from this bright spot in the socialistic Government, I found nothing in the social and business aims of the period to warrant the radiant anticipations fostered by the glowing descriptions of Dr. Leete.

On the contrary, the battle for personal advantage was conducted with the same vehemence with which interests had contended during the earlier ages. It was discouraging to find Mr. Bellamy unreliable in this respect. He had made his Dr. Leete say that labor in the socialistic community was not obligatory, but that every person was permitted to choose his calling according to his taste and talents. The drawback of having a surplus in one profession and a deficiency in others could be easily obviated by lessening the number of working hours in the more disagreeable avocations. If any occupation was found to be too arduous and unpleasant to attract voluntary laborers, limit the day's work to ten minutes and it would be done. This harmonizes with truth, so far as the intention of carrying out the purpose is concerned, but not if we consider the intention less than the manner of execution. I could

* The reader will remember that Friedrich Ost was a native of Mecklenburg, and this exclamation was probably a reference to the more rigid game-laws of his birthplace.—D. H.

not follow the result in all its details by reading the various articles in which the organization of labor was discussed; but so far as I could gather the system had developed in all the countries nearly as follows:

At the introduction of the new order of things the Government had requested every one to name the employment he or she preferred, and the result had been gratifying in so far that no one delayed in stating the favorite vocation. But if the Government had expected to accomplish a satisfactory organization of labor in this way, it had committed a fatal error.

In Germany one-third of the males who were able to work had desired to be employed in hunting. Of the remaining two-thirds 10 per cent. had wished to be in charge of farms, on condition that a saddle-horse was kept for them at the expense of the State; 10 per cent. offered to be coachmen and grooms, on condition that the feeding, currying, harnessing, removal of manure, and cleaning of carriages should be done by others; 10 per cent. volunteered to tend cattle, on condition of being relieved from bringing fodder and removing manure; 10 per cent. to be sailors, on condition of being relieved of loading and unloading the cargo; 30 per cent. officials in the executive, educational, and book-keeping departments of the Government; 15 per cent. musicians, actors, etc.; 1 per cent. each physicians, engineers, architects, sea-captains, artists and sculptors, miners, farm laborers, and members of the learned professions; and ½ per cent. locksmiths, turners, chair-makers, masons, carpenters, glaziers, weavers, saddlers, tailors, and cobblers. This had been naturally no pleasant surprise to the Government. It had more hunters than game, more managers of farms than farms. There would also have been no lack of coachmen, cattle-tenders, and

sailors, if only a single soul had offered to do the work from which they made it a condition to be relieved. But how, with the small number of farm laborers, was the State to obtain bread for the people and food for the cattle? How, with the unsatisfactory number of miners, was it to get sufficient coal, iron, etc.? How were the people to be provided with clothes and shoes if so few were willing to be tailors and shoemakers? How were houses to be built? How could railroads be run if nobody was willing to be switch-tender, conductor, or fireman? How were goods to be transported, streets swept, rivers dredged, sewers cleaned, if no one applied for the work?

The Government did not fare much better with the offers from the women. By far the greater number of spinsters desired occupations which fostered intercourse with young men, and bar-maids in the beer-shops, saleswomen in glove stores, first and second rate singers, ballet dancers and actresses, appeared in ample numbers. There were also plenty of cooks, on condition of being relieved of washing the cooking utensils and preparing the materials. There was a still smaller supply of applications for places as nursery governesses, nurses of children, sick-nurses, and all kinds of needle-work, and none at all for cleaning of all kinds, peeling potatoes, milking cows, and the various kinds of labor carried on in the open air and in factories.

So the volunteer system did not succeed, and it was fortunate that the Government—at least, the German one—at once issued the command that every one must for the present continue the occupation in which he was earning a living during the last week prior to the change in the system of government. But the matter required a final legal settlement, and, besides, the necessity at once

arose for finding suitable employment for those who had been pursuing an independent business, as well as for those who had not labored at all, and, also, enrolling the young people who had reached working age. Long arguments upon these difficult points followed, but in Germany the industry and devotion of the law-giving bodies at last produced a code whose 753 paragraphs contained the following essential points:

1. Every male and female citizen is ordered, on pain of punishment, to appear daily at the hour appointed by the Government, or his or her special chief, at the place named, for the purpose of working at the task to which he or she is assigned.

2. All male and female citizens who, prior to the reorganization of the State, were not working for any salary or wages must at once report to the labor officials of their respective districts, giving at the same time a description of their qualifications, talents, and preferences, with a statement of their ages and previous occupations. The local magistrate will forward the document to the Bureau of Labor, which will then determine the occupation to be pursued.

3. Young male and female citizens who are just reaching the working age must deliver to the local magistrate the certificates of their teachers, on which must be specially noted the vocations for which their mental and physical powers best qualify them, and to these certificates a written report must be added, specifying their own wishes in regard to their future avocations. By these certificates and reports, and also the most pressing needs of the Government, the Bureau of Labor finally determines the occupation to be followed and the place where the work is to be done.

4. No male or female citizen is entitled to change

either the occupation or the place of labor assigned without permission of his or her superior officer. Remonstrances or refusal to work will be punished by imprisonment on bread and water. Requests for transfer from one kind of employment to another, or from one place to another, must be handed to the local labor official, who has the right of decision. Appeal to the Bureau of Labor is allowable.

5. The Government has the right, according to the needs of the State, to order every citizen transiently or permanently from one kind of occupation to another. Refusal to obey will be punished with imprisonment on bread and water. Costs of transportation will be defrayed by the State.

6. All officials appointed to superintend or direct work must report at once to the Bureau of Labor if there is any surplus of laborers in the district allotted to them, or if the working force is not sufficient to accomplish the task assigned. The Bureau in the one case will find occupation for the surplus elsewhere, and in the other supply the force lacking.

7. In case of a transient or permanent transfer from one place of work to another, the Bureau of Labor must do all in its power to arrange that the wives and husbands of the citizens to be transferred also obtain employment in the place to which the transfer is made. But should the said Bureau, from considerations connected with the accomplishment of the work, find this impossible, refusal of a transient or permanent separation on the part of the said wife or husband is not allowable.

8. The time of labor fixed is: (*a*) for all occupations which require intellectual rather than manual labor, or which from their nature cannot have a fixed number of hours a day allotted (bar-maids, nurses, sick-nurses, ballet-

dancers, circus-riders, rope-dancers, coachmen, porters, conductors on railroads, and switch-tenders), the number of hours which proves necessary to accomplish the work to be done; (*b*) for all occupations which demand manual rather than intellectual labor (so far as they do not come under the above category), eight hours of work, which must be performed between six in the morning and six in the evening. In pursuits where labor cannot be interrupted without great loss of fuel, or without injury to the work already accomplished, the set of workmen will be changed three times during the twenty-four hours.

So, under the socialistic Government, eight hours had been fixed as the working-day, a matter which had been agitated in 1889. I had supposed that at the commencement it would be six hours at the utmost, but during the discussions the idea prevailed that it would be easier to lessen the working hours than to lengthen them, and that therefore it would be wise not to begin with making too small a demand upon the industrial force.

But the very fact that equality of the time for all manual labor was established proved the rock of offence to all classes. People had become thoroughly inoculated with the fundamental idea of socialism that no one must have a larger income than his fellows. Yet apparently there was scarcely a branch of labor which had been entered upon under the new system where the workers did not secretly think that this special branch was one of peculiar difficulty, and therefore deserved a diminution of the hours of toil. Everybody felt the exhausting, annoying, arduous features of his or her own occupation, and no one could realize how exhausting, annoying, and arduous was the labor of others.

Thus disappointment was experienced on all sides, and

the vocation of the daily press was to voice this feeling. There were, indeed, a legion of articles expressing this disappointment, and at the same time offering some suggestion of relief; most of them bore the heading, "In the Cause of Equal Justice," and the signature, "Also a Friend of Justice." In every article, too, the purport, if not the wording, was the same. After having at last succeeded in correcting the injustice of the old social system, the wronging of the masses by individuals, and the unnatural inequality of property, thereby establishing a kingdom of peace and equity, society was now to perform the beautiful and grateful task of applying the last touch, and relieving labor where it was at a disadvantage with other forms of employment. The diminution of working hours afforded a delightful and easy remedy for all inequalities of this nature.

Then followed in every article a detailed account of the reasons why the class of workers for which the writer was pleading was more burdened than all the others, and that it would be a mockery of the social democratic system if such oppressive conditions were not relieved. Spiteful side-thrusts at the comfort, ease, or healthfulness of all other avocations were rarely lacking. Some found their work too monotonous, others too wearisome, others too unclean and distasteful. All believed their labor to be injurious to the health and likely to shorten life: some because it was pursued in close rooms; others because it exposed them to heat, cold, wind, and rain; others because it was sometimes performed in-doors and sometimes in the open air, thereby constantly causing colds.

Every article closed with the opinion that it would be perfectly just to extend the working hours of certain other avocations, but those of the one in question ought

to be lessened 25 to 50 per cent. It was a very active warfare, and I vainly searched the history of the past for a single instance where different portions of society had been arrayed against each other in such a conflict. I first recalled the struggle of the year 1878, when the policy of protection began. But this had been followed by an agreement between the contending parties. It had been in reality a war between those who had property and those who had not, and prudence soon admonished them to join their forces against a common foe that had striven to fleece each. But here it was not certain large classes of society who, though with various interests, began a war of gain against the other class; but each separate division was pursuing its own goal, and there were no common interests.

When Dr. Leete talks so much about peace and harmony among men, he imagines it. America will not differ from this country, and I see here a degree of class contention which presents a picture very unlike that of peace.

Nor did peace reign in other spheres of public life. I should not like to affirm that I found a worse condition of affairs in this respect than in former times, but certainly, according to all the signs I could discover, there had been no improvement.

At the utmost, I could make an exception only in the domains of art and poetry; not that the conflict of opinions had ceased here, but the differences seemed to have been forced into a narrower circle, and no longer to hinge upon questions of deeper significance. Critics of works of art and of poetry no longer discussed whether idealism and the higher classic taste had a right to be represented in both, for all doubts concerning their exclusion appeared to have vanished. Opinions

varied merely as to whether the artist or poet had fully satisfied the demands of realism, or whether, spite of his praiseworthy efforts, he had not been too timid. Little as I could judge of what was being accomplished in art and poetry at the commencement of the twenty-first century—for I had neither seen a work of art nor read a poem—the discussions of these subjects left me in no doubt that the direction of taste which had so largely preponderated at the close of the nineteenth century had attained complete mastery in the course of one hundred and ten years. The doors of poetry and art were barred against everything beautiful, magnificent, sublime, and elevated, while they tenderly fostered the ugly, loathsome, and detestable. Thus the intolerance of the beautiful, which had gained so much ascendency in 1890, had attained its goal, and the critics doubtless felt content, like the sow wallowing in the mire. True, they did not agree on all points, but the differences of opinion were really about the merest trifle. One clique seemed to be satisfied that the summit of realism had been successfully reached, the other opined that it was still a short distance further. In regard to the drama, especially, the view was often expressed that the writer was still too much restricted by the fear of showing the real in all its bareness. Suggestions were made which my pen is unwilling to record. I asked myself whether this phenomenon was probably connected in any way with the revolution in the social system, and attained the conviction that such a relation was undeniable. No matter how we value the idea of socialism, even its adherents, even those to whom its feasibility has never appeared doubtful, must admit that it strives to drag society down from the heights already climbed to a lower level, and the plane on which soci-

ety stood in the year 2000 was certainly a considerably lower one.

This proceeds from the nature of equalization. The social democrats were not content with raising the lower elements, which would have merited the most universal approval, but, as they also strove to equalize the distinctions of social position, they were forced to reduce the higher elements to zero—that is, to the point where equalization took place.

The result to be expected from this need not be discussed here. It could scarcely be different from what would have occurred if the Creator of the universe, instead of the various degrees of warmth making summer and winter, had established a medium temperature for every day; thus, it is true, never permitting an excess of cold or heat, but thereby preventing the earth from attaining that high degree of development which afforded men the conditions of civilization.

To render men willing to receive an idea whose final result could be no other than the lowering of the whole social life to a level which must lack the main conditions of fruitfulness, their entire mode of thought needed to be changed. The impulse to move from a higher to a lower plane—a movement in total contrast to that in which nature and mankind have been engaged from the beginning—cannot be felt until the human race has lost its appreciation of the value of the beautiful, the sublime, and the noble. Even in the last decade of the nineteenth century the preponderance of realism in art and poetry showed the diminution of this appreciation, for people were not content with promoting realism in every possible way, but even desired to dispute the right of idealism to existence, and with the repression of the latter the nation lost the power of resisting the

victorious progress of an idea by which society, as a whole, could be anything but elevated.

In this way I thought I had found a connection between the undivided sway of realism in art and poetry, and the fact that humanity could reconcile itself to the idea of putting the artificial system of social democracy in the place of the natural order of society.

In my opinion idealism and realism have equal rights; nay, they must balance each other. If idealism does not find a counterpoise in a healthy realism, it will degenerate into weakness, shallowness, and falsity to nature. On the other hand, realism in a people who have lost all ideals will constantly tend downward, corrupt the taste, and merge more and more into cynicism. The drama in 1890 had entered this path, and the lowering of taste could not fail to rob society of the consciousness of its height of civilization.

Such were the thoughts which involuntarily stole into my mind as I was approaching the close of my study of the fine arts in the daily press. I turned to another important subject—it was to be the last in my series of investigations—the condition of popular education. Here I found an unusually active interest in the discussion of the pros and cons, and the very first article on which my eyes fell showed me plainly that the socialistic state could not be just in dealing with the problem of equality in education.

Though the decision of the strife over the Latin essay and the Greek language seemed to belong to the past, even after the retreat into the purely practical province, wide differences of opinion existed concerning the boundaries to be maintained and the branches of learning requisite for a healthful education of the masses. Apart from the fact that people must have perceived very

speedily that the degree of education attainable did not depend solely upon the kind of learning, the number of the school years, or the knowledge of the teachers, but also upon the industry, capacity, and tastes of the pupils, directly after the establishment of the socialistic Government the question arose whether, with the great difference in occupations, it would be right to endeavor to give every citizen an equally high degree of intellectual culture. There were many callings, it was said, which demanded a special amount of bodily vigor and development of the muscles, and it was doubtful whether for these avocations early habituation to the fatigues of labor and the rigors of the weather would not be far more advantageous than so much knowledge of the modern languages, literature, mathematics, and the various branches of the physical sciences. Experience had already proved that, with the social democratic principle of equality of profit, the free choice of an occupation would not be permissible. But if the kind of employment to be pursued was forced on each individual by the Government, the individual had a right to expect the State to give him the education which would best fit him for the imposed calling. The person who must some day become a farm laborer, miner, coal-heaver, or smith, would desire, above all else, to have his body prepared in youth for the toil to be performed throughout his life, since, without early habit and preparation, the work must always be exhausting and oppressive. So the youth ought not to be kept in school until he reached his twenty-first year, and instead of striving for equality of education, it would be better to aim at bestowing the kind of training and the degree of intellectual culture required by the duties of each pursuit.

True, this undeniably sensible view had not passed

without contradiction, for making distinctions in the education of the people was regarded by many, perhaps not unjustly, as an infringement of the social democratic principle; but in time the plan was approved.

Then, however, a long and acrimonious conflict arose between learned and unlearned men—a conflict which at the time of my study of the newspapers was still continuing with unabated vigor. It really turned upon the question whether it would be better to return to the old division into national schools, higher citizen schools, real schools, and gymnasia, or to establish for all the children a national school, according to whose graduating certificate some should at once go to work, others to special schools intended to fit them for their future occupations; what subjects should be taught in the national as well as in the special schools; what degree of knowledge of the various branches must be attained by pupils; what kind of knowledge should be regarded as indispensable for the development of mind and character, and what kind would serve merely as ballast in the pupil's brain. The striking diversity of opinions, and the obstinacy of the warfare, left me in no doubt that the nature of the social democratic Government would not be specially adapted to solve the difficult problem of the school question.

The question of history as a subject of instruction was the only one which particularly interested me. No one disputed that it would be an important means of education, and must be fostered in the national schools. But how it should be taught, what portions were especially educational and stimulating, whether it would be enough for the scholars to know the names of all the sovereigns and the battles, as well as the corresponding dates, or whether it was rather the duty of the school to

explain the development of the civilization of the nations, were questions over which an endless conflict arose. In this battle, moreover, a number of politicians mingled, who were seeking in the distribution of historical instruction to gain a political object, and whose zeal and prominence succeeded in directing the contest into totally different channels.

History, they said, had but one goal to attain: that of bringing the populace to a clear conception of the fact that the whole development of the human race, from the creation of Adam to the establishment of the socialistic Government, had been a thoroughly perverted, harmful, and extremely corrupt one, and that an imperishable service had been rendered by the men who, amid severe strife and martyrdom, with God's gracious assistance, had won a place for the social democratic administration. Only by inspiring the young with the feeling that the socialistic Government was the greatest of earthly blessings could a generation be expected in the future which would rally with immovable fidelity around the banner of social democracy. The paths for the investigation of history were thus marked out, and the school had the task of showing people in flesh and blood what science, with correct appreciation of its aims, was bringing to light.

True, there was energetic opposition to this effort. It was said that the study of history was a science, and no revelation; its sole task, therefore, could be to seek only pure truth and hold this like a mirror before the eyes of men. If any other purpose was associated with its study, and the facts of history were approached with an opinion previously formed, the pupil could not fail to fall into error. History ceases to be a real means of education when the acts of men and nations are shown

through spectacles which make things appear in a false light. But the men of science could no longer conquer their opponents. The old observation that people like best to hear and read what is agreeable to them, and are less willing to seek truth for truth's sake, seemed to be verified in the socialistic world. Therefore, their rivals found it easy to reply that it was a narrow-minded idea to seek truth only where it appeared in a different light from that which the seeker, according to his own convictions, desired. Even in the last decades of the nineteenth century investigation showed plainly enough that even with a slight bias—there was no lack of allusions to well-known names—the cleverest works of history can be written. There is scarcely a page of history which does not reveal in distinct characters the defect of the former social system, and it is a proof of great narrow-mindedness not to seek to show by these imperfections that the socialistic Government is a boon to mankind. That the review of history in the socialistic State would be quite different from the former one seemed to me, from what I read, unquestionable.

That all generations behold the past in a different light can appear only natural, for it is not possible for most men to rid themselves of the prejudices fostered by the circumstances of their times. But precisely because our prejudices limit our freedom of judgment, we ought to strive to avoid everything which merely supplies fresh food for prejudice, since this diverts us still more from the perception of truths, and history must finally cease to be a means of education if political objects are interwoven with its study. This had been done in my own day, and I really could not wonder that an insignificant little seed had, in the course of time, produced corruptible fruit.

This finished my studies. I had sufficiently examined what I could find in my scrutiny of the newspapers. I had not gained full assurance on all points, but where doubts lingered my attention had been aroused, and I could confidently expect the solution of the enigma as soon as I entered the stream of life. This period was not far distant as, during the days spent in reading, my strength had increased and my body had regained its former vigor.

Concerning two questions, however, I was, to my great regret, utterly in the dark. I had not found a syllable to inform me whether here, as well as in America, the citizens were discharged from the service of the Government on reaching the age of forty-five, nor how large a sum was given by the credit card to each individual. Both questions were somewhat connected, for the age of the State pensioners and the amount of the annual income must afford an unerring proof of the degree of wealth obtained by the nation.

This question possessed the deepest interest for me. In my time (I may be allowed to call it so—it was early in the year 1890) I had made an estimate from the data of the statistics of the Prussian Government, according to which every inhabitant capable of earning money, from the minister to the lowest workman, had an average daily income of 2.47 marks—that is, a yearly income of 741 marks; and this estimate was by no means based upon liberation from labor at the age of forty-five. Somewhat later Eugene Richter estimated, in a little different way, a yearly income of 842 marks, and I should be disposed to believe that the latter was too high rather than that mine was too low. But even Richter's income would not have tempted any of the lower officials, nor a very large number of workmen, to have

changed their actual earnings for their receipts according to the social democratic division of the common income. How much had the national income probably increased in the course of a century? What had the workman gained by the equality of the distribution?

These were important questions, for whose solution I must wait patiently. Wearied by long study and meditation, I went to rest and soon fell into a refreshing sleep.

CHAPTER IV.

A VISIT TO THE CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

I was busied the next morning in making some little extracts from the newspaper articles I had read, when Sister Martha entered in a state of joyful excitement. She had at last received the long desired answer from the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Herr Büchner, and it was a very favorable one. After a brief apology for the delay in the reply on account of an absence of several days, he expressed his great satisfaction that he could easily obtain for me a position that would suit my tastes and knowledge. But, in order not to fall into any error on this point, it would afford him much pleasure to make my acquaintance. "So pray ask your representative of the glorious nineteenth century, risen from his death sleep of a hundrd years, to do me the honor of calling on me at five o'clock this afternoon," were the last words of the letter.

So I was to be released from my solitude and the cheerless, quiet life which, with my eager desire to enter into this new world and mingle with its affairs, had become very oppressive. I was as full of happiness as I had ever been in the days of my childhood, and paced the room from end to end with long strides. "At last," I said, "I am to have an opportunity to see this creation of the German Bellamys, Bebel and Liebknecht. I shall not be satisfied, like Julian West, with letting

any Dr. Leete tell me about things, but shall rack my own brains and open my own eyes."

"I can fully understand your delight, my dear friend," replied Sister Martha, "but you must not be vexed if I drag the lofty flight of your thoughts down to earth."

"Drag the flight of my thoughts down to earth? I am on the earth now, and what I desire to search, probe, examine, is but a patch of the globe on which people are living in a little different way from that of a hundred years ago."

"But this patch of the globe imposes certain demands upon people, and requires us to dress when we desire to search and examine it. At the present time, visitors do not call on Herr Büchner in dressing-gown and slippers."

I stopped short in dismay. To call on the Chief of the Bureau just as I was had not entered my brain, but I had not yet realized that I had not brought with me my old clothes-press which, in former days, I needed only to open to obtain garments suitable for every occasion. I now perceived, to my horror, that not an article I wore was my own. The clothing that had covered me when I set out on my long journey had been destroyed by mould and moths, and I owed my dressing-gown, slippers, and unmentionables solely to the generosity of the hospital. But would the latter also supply me with a business-coat, hat, overcoat, vest, boots, and trousers suitable for paying calls in a city? This seemed to me doubtful, no matter how high an opinion I might have of the liberality of the socialistic Government.

I probably looked very downcast, for Sister Martha burst into a merry laugh.

"It seems to me," she cried, "that you are just now

in a position when a man doesn't consider it a great misfortune to have a wealthy and helpful friend."

Overjoyed at her words, I seized her hand, exclaiming: "If you will be my friend, I'll take you at your word, and assure you that I was drawn to you from the first moment. Your dress, your calling, and all the kindness you have shown, attest your helpfulness. But I don't believe that you are rich. You live in the socialistic State, and this has extinguished the vital spark of wealth."

"That depends upon what is meant by wealth," she answered. "In former times millionaires were called rich, but I have known many whose purses were empty long before their next interest money came due, and I have always considered myself far richer than these men, for I had a few gold coins in my pocket-book when my next quarter's salary was paid. To-day I feel rich because I still have half my credit card untouched, and the year is almost over. So grant me my pleasure and the playfulness it inspires. I will give you my credit card, and you shall go to a clothing store and be transformed into a distinguished citizen of the socialistic State."

These were certainly kind, noble, generous words. But had Sister Martha a right to use the credit card issued in her name to supply my needs? Whatever she did not use went back to the Government. Was it not appropriating public property, to employ what would rightfully fall to it for my benefit?

I told her my scruple, but was forced to admit that her view of justice was no false one.

"The sum which the Government gives me as my share of the general revenue," she replied, "is money honestly earned, and no one has a right to restrict me in

spending it. It is shameful enough that people are not permitted to keep what they save by frugality and thrift. But these virtues do not seem to be regarded by the socialistic Government as a sure foundation. Otherwise it would beware of imposing the penalty of confiscation upon economy. The more abominable I consider it to be deprived of what is my own, unless I squander it in finery for my person or consume it in eating and drinking, the less I am disposed to submit to such robbery. If I cannot keep what I save, I will not let it benefit those who have dug the grave of economy, the mother of home life, but those whom I can help in need. So lay aside all scruples, my dear Herr Ost. You are in a condition which all the sophisms in the world cannot aid. There is not in the whole civilized earth a tailor who would loan you a suit for an hour, so do not deny the pleasure of aiding you to one who to-day has the happinesss of calling herself your only friend."

Why should I have refused such cordial kindness? Though I could not conceal from myself that during the one hundred and eleven years which I had spent in the gravel-pit in a condition that was neither death nor life, I had done nothing for society which would be worth the cost of a suit of clothes, I had nevertheless been no such criminal as would warrant the Government in refusing my friend the privilege of clothing me from the proceeds of her work. Therefore I accepted the offer gratefully and without reserve, though unable to promise restitution, for, as I understood the socialist Government, it was not adapted to afford a man more than a moderate support.

There were some who, like Sister Martha, made sacrifice their life-calling, but unfortunately I did not belong to this class. Meantime a fresh source of embarrassment

arose. I was to make purchases on Sister Martha's credit card. Could I appear in a clothing shop without identification? The first of November had already passed, and the period dangerous to credit cards had probably arrived; all those who sold goods were enjoined to carefully notice those who presented them. Sister Martha's card bore a woman's name, and my face showed the most evident tokens of my sex. Might I not expect to be arrested on a charge of theft?

I proposed to Sister Martha to give me a power of attorney and have her signature certified by a notary. But she did not know whether there were notaries in the socialist Government, and, moreover, thought that the necessary forms would consume far too much time and could not be complied with during the few hours before the afternoon. So there was nothing to be done except for Sister Martha to arrange her duties a little and go with me to the establishment.

We carried out this plan at four in the afternoon. A hack stood close by. Sister Martha gave the driver her credit card to cut, and after a short drive we stopped in front of a large store provided with every comfort, and fitted up in a way similar to the arrangements of the best shops in the nineteenth century.

A pleasant-mannered young man instantly asked what we desired, and when my name was mentioned — of course it had been in all the papers—congratulated me on my fortunate rescue. I followed him—Sister Martha remaining in the outer room—into an adjoining dressing-room, tried on various articles, and had the pleasure of presenting myself to my friend in a handsome suit, appropriate for both calling and daily wear. The hat, overcoat, and boots were also of faultless workmanship. Meanwhile my insatiably generous patroness had se-

lected a handsome umbrella, a dozen shirts, socks, and under-garments, and I was thus a well-equipped citizen of the new world. Sister Martha took out her credit card, had the clerk mark with his shears the sum of 183 marks and 75 pfennigs, and, after a courteous bow, we went out into the street again.

"There, my honored citizen of the new kingdom," said Sister Martha, "now I'll send you in a hack to the Bureau of Statistics, while I myself return home on foot. How you are to get back except in the same way I really don't know. It might be dangerous for you to call a hack on my credit card, and I have not time to come for you. So walk very slowly and carefully; then I hope you will not find the way too tiresome."

A hack-stand was close by; we shook hands. Sister Martha called after me, "Good-luck with Herr Büchner." At five o'clock precisely I drove up to the Bureau of Statistics.

I felt some little embarrassment as I entered the Director-general's room, but my reception was so cordial and friendly that it instantly vanished. He was an elderly man of portly figure and affable manners. His somewhat rubicund face, furrowed by few wrinkles, and the comfortable rotundity of his figure by no means suggested a man who spent his life in making calculations; nay, his whole manner, and gay, cheerful conversation, would have indicated a person who had devoted his days to pleasure and amusement. He spoke the agreeable Bavarian dialect, had a pair of kindly blue eyes, and wherever the meaning of his words allowed, was fond of ending his sentences with a resonant, jovial "Ha! ha! ha!"

"Ah, I probably have the pleasure of welcoming Herr Ost, the man of the nineteenth century. If our laborers

hadn't discovered you, you would doubtless have lain in your gravel-pit till the day of judgment." And he burst into a merry laugh.

"It is a strange destiny which has made me witness two totally diverse periods of time," I answered; "but it shall be my endeavor to become a useful member of society in the socialist world, and if I should have the happiness of possessing your protection, I should always endeavor to do honor to your recommendation."

"Well, the Germans of the nineteenth century don't appear to have been the worst sort of men—ha! ha! ha! —and we shall probably be able to make use now of a fellow who lived in those times. But we'll take the matter comfortably. Sit down in the arm-chair yonder, and let us smoke a pipe of peace together."

With these words he drew two cigars from a case. I had always been excessively fond of smoking, but for one hundred and eleven years no tobacco had passed my lips, and I was now curious to learn how my mucous membrane would be affected by it. That the weed I was smoking had never been very near Cuba my nose and tongue both told me at the first whiff; but true to my intention of looking at the new world with unprejudiced eyes, I did not even ask myself the question whether the defect in quality was due to the giver's taste more than to the wisdom and care of the socialist Government.

After Herr Büchner had lighted his cigar he took his seat comfortably in an arm-chair opposite to me. "First, my dear Herr Ost," he said, "it affords me great satisfaction to give you a little pleasure. A business matter took me to the chancellor's, and I availed myself of the opportunity to tell him about you, and the necessity of taking you into our service. He thought

that a certain length of time would be necessary to train you for manual labor. At your advanced age, and totally unused as you are to physical toil, this could only be characterized as an act of causeless inhumanity, and, therefore, according to his opinion, it cannot be difficult to find useful employment for your powers elsewhere. In the present critical condition of all relations, it might even be valuable to know the experiences and opinions of a man who was taking an active part in practical life at the very time people were discussing the dark side of the former system of society. It seemed to him particularly fortunate that this man had been an agriculturist, and examined things from that stand-point. In the socialistic State agriculture is in a special degree the child of sorrow."

This appeared to me by no means a bad idea. Agriculture is really a very important calling for all nations, and, while reading Mr. Bellamy's book, I had felt it to be a lamentable oversight that this branch of occupation, and its mode of management in the new system, had not been mentioned by even a syllable.

"So you see, my dear sir," Herr Büchner continued, "you need only travel about the country, keep your respected eyes wide open, and report occasionally to the chancellor, and you'll have employment which will not seem too difficult for you."

"I am greatly indebted for your kind efforts," I replied, "and though at this moment I feel a little doubtful whether I shall succeed in fully satisfying the chancellor's expectations, I willingly admit that this kind of occupation, in my peculiar situation, will be most agreeable for a time, and I assure you that I shall lack neither industry nor care."

"I shall willingly believe that," was his answer, "and

you probably won't suffer from ennui—ha! ha! ha! There is a motley variety in the socialistic Government, and you will often ask yourself whether you or the rest of the world are crazy. But people were bent upon it, and now they must drink as they have brewed. But to come to a practical subject. The chancellor has just sent me a credit card for you, with the remark that, to be able to work, you must have means to live. Though it is after the first of November, he has allowed the amount for two full months. An order addressed to all railroads and transportation offices, as well as to all the hotels in the various cities, for the purpose of furnishing you with free lodgings and transportation during your official journeys, will follow. So be kind enough to put this document in your pocket."

So saying, he gave me a card inscribed with my name, and bearing the words, "Employé of the Chancellor's Office." I felt myself a man once more. The oppressive consciousness of being a mere recipient of alms, living only by the favor of society, gave place to a pleasant sense of self-reliance, as I held in my hand the certificate, made of the best card-board. Nay; more than that, as an official in the chancellor's office, I seemed to myself a person of consequence. After living so long on hospital diet, my physical cravings stirred once more, and visions of genuine Löwen beer, Hochheimer, and fragrant Havanas flitted before my mind. What was more natural than for my eye to rove questioningly over the figures which expressed the number of pleasures within my reach up to the first of January! I found the sum to be 250 marks, and, though I summoned up all my courage, it seemed as if my face lengthened more and more. Two hundred and fifty marks, divided by fifty days, gave five marks per diem, and

with this I was to defray the expense of breakfast, dinner, supper, light, heat, wine, and tobacco. Moreover, I was still uncertain whether, in the socialist State, a man could do, like Sultan Saladin, with one coat.

Herr Büchner probably noticed the lengthening of my face.

"Yes, yes, my dear sir," he said, "you are not accustomed to live on two hundred and fifty marks for two months, or fifteen hundred a year. But in socialistic society the first rule is, 'Cut your garment according to your cloth.' These are the beautiful advantages of equality—ha! ha! ha! Some who formerly fared better are discontented at being compelled to economize, and others who formerly fared worse are discontented because they don't get still more. In the most favorable cases they have gained two hundred marks, but, on the other hand, have been obliged to give up their liberty and many other things to boot."

A slight flush crimsoned my face as he spoke, but I speedily regained my composure.

"We must manage as well as we can," I replied. "I will consider myself fortunate in being no better off than other men. It was only a momentary surprise," I added, with some little hesitation; "I had expected something rather different—about ten times as much, since Mr. Bellamy—"

"Mr. Bellamy?" interrupted Herr Büchner. "Have you read that famous book? Ha! ha! ha!" He burst into a shout of ringing laughter. "Saint Bellamy was deceived. This Julian West must be a simpleton who believes white is black and black white, and his Dr. Leete is the most foolish fellow I ever heard of. I met the old gentleman last year at the Statistical Congress in Philadelphia.

"We all laughed at him, for he has a fixed idea that the earth has been changed to heaven. In his youth he read Bebel's writings, associated with social democrats, and made long speeches about how delightful it would be if the world could be changed according to Bebel's recipe. Since Bebel's socialistic society has now been introduced he imagines that all these fancies have become facts, and is delighted to find anybody to whom he can talk about it.

"Every one makes fun of him. When he buys a new suit of clothes at a store a messenger is sent privately to his house with it, and he is told it is magically delivered by a subterranean pneumatic tube. A telephone has been placed in his sitting-room, and he spends hours there listening to music, and believes that the social democrats invented the telephone. When it rains and the worthy Bostonians stretch screens from the houses to keep the sidewalks dry, it is so dark in his room that he can neither read nor write. But he walks patiently up and down, rubbing his hands and rejoicing that the socialists have arranged things so delightfully." *

During these last explanations I had involuntarily pushed my chair to and fro several times. I had read of these things in *Looking Backward*, with a certain degree of faith, and now, to my shame, found them ridiculous. I remembered having heard a telephonic musical performance in 1890 in the Urania in Berlin. It was an act of Gounod's "Faust." But I had not been extremely sorry when it was over, and had only regretted that I did not go to the opera instead. That stretching

* Apparently Herr Büchner is alluding to the suggestions made in Bebel's *Woman in the Past, the Present, and the Future.* The ninth edition appeared in January, 1891, under the altered title, *Woman and Socialism.*

umbrellas over the streets in rainy weather, which had so greatly delighted Julian West, could not be a sensible invention, because it would exclude the light from people's houses, became evident after Herr Büchner's brief remark. But I did not immediately perceive why it was not feasible to introduce pneumatic tubes in Boston similiar to the ones used for letters and postal-cards.

I expressed this doubt somewhat timidly, and spoke of the mechanism of the pneumatic postal delivery, and the magnificence of the inventive spirit whose mighty conquests would not suffer us to suspect to what degree machinery might yet supplant human labor.

"Certainly, my dear Herr Ost," observed Herr Büchner, "men have accomplished marvels and may do still more. But you know they can hardly shake off the fetters of time and space. They may perhaps invent methods of sending much heavier articles than letters and postal-cards in pneumatic tubes, and it probably would not be too difficult to conduct such a tube to any single dwelling; but to have all the thousands of tubes of colossal size discharge their contents into one warehouse at one place—a place which does not afford a tenth part of the requisite space—is a thing our Creator Himself cannot accomplish. But there is scarcely a folly which Dr. Leete does not imagine, Julian West believe, and Mr. Bellamy describe. Then there is a great deal said about the vast treasure mankind has accumulated in the socialistic State. And how was this done? By constant labor day and night? Heaven forbid! Work is mere pastime; a few hours daily, and everything is accomplished by magic. If either of the three gentlemen had but glanced into a book of statistics to learn what kind of accountants they are! All the laboring force between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one

they wish to keep at school, and all between forty-five and sixty-five to maintain as pensioners of the State; and yet they assert that society has gained immensely by making every one work. And there have been hundreds of thousands of people who believe such nonsense. Yes, my dear sir, men are very strange—ha! ha! ha!" and he burst into his pleasant, resonant laugh.

"The gentlemen base their assertion," I remarked, "upon the great increase of working power which society has obtained by no longer maintaining soldiers, finding occupation for capitalists, and those who were formerly unemployed from lack of opportunity to work, abolishing the whole trading class, and enrolling its members in the army of workers, and reducing the entire apparatus of administration to a minimum."

"Let us test that assertion," he said. "The military service claimed 1 per cent. of the population, or nearly two and a half of those who were capable of working; we will estimate the number of the laboring population who were unable to find employment during a year in former times as being the same, which, however, is considerably in excess of the real facts, and we shall have a gain of 5 per cent. But on the other hand the young people from sixteen to twenty-one, and the older ones from forty-five to sixty-five years, comprise about 60 per cent. of the industrial force.* So, opposed to the gain of 5 per cent. is a loss of 60 per cent. of people

* These estimates of Herr Büchner concerning the proportion of the classes of the ages named to the whole number of the industrial population, as well as the following ones of the proportion of those formerly employed in trade and official positions, really seem to be very accurate. They can be tested easily by referring to the *Annual Statistical Manual of the German Empire*, 1887 and 1888, containing the estimates of the census of 1885.

capable of performing labor; that is, in other words, the socialistic State has retained only 45 per cent. And now, according to Mr. Bellamy's communications, there must be a reduction of at least 50 per cent. in hours of labor — Bebel proposed two, three, or, at most, four hours in the socialistic State — ask yourself, as a man still in possession of his senses, whether it is possible that these 45 per cent. of the former working populace, with the hours of labor so greatly reduced, can transform the whole world, so to speak, into a blooming garden, and also produce on so large a scale that everybody can live like a nabob."

"But you forget, Herr Büchner, the accession of the whole commercial community, and the extraordinary reduction of the official class."

"Ha! ha! ha!" shouted Büchner. "We will suppose it to be true that all the people who were formerly engaged in trade, and all who were formerly employés of the Government, municipal, and ecclesiastical service were superfluous, and could be employed in industrial pursuits. How much would have been gained by that? Under the old system $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of the working population were engaged in trade — including hotel and restaurant keepers — and $5\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. as officials in the branches named. If we add this $13\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. to the 45 per cent. of the former industrial force, we shall have $58\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., and thus the considerable deficit of $41\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. But how can you suppose that this $13\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the laboring force could be even approximately saved in the socialistic State? True, a number of the smaller tradesmen and a number of the smaller hotel and restaurant keepers would have no occupation owing to the enlargement of business; but could the whole number of people who had hitherto carried on

the duties of trade be removed without detriment to society? By no means. Not even a single one of the duties which formerly devolved upon the trading community and commercial houses has lapsed; the only change is that what was formerly done by private individuals on their own account is now done by officials in behalf of the Government. The Government is the manager of all commerce, and all its duties fall upon it. All the labor, down to the smallest detail relative to the manufacture and distribution of goods, which was formerly divided among hundreds of thousands of merchants, is now performed by the State. Long before the harvest time it must ascertain what quantity of grain is at its disposal from the inland fields, and what amount it must purchase. It must stretch its feelers to where the stores of grain may be expected, learn where it can buy the best and the most cheaply; for the competition of the countries which must buy grain has not been diminished a whit by the socialization of society. It must see that the packing and forwarding to all places is done promptly and at the right time, that every bale of merchandise reaches the spot where it is wanted. And the same energy is requisite in regard to supplying the cattle for the shambles, and the butter which must be imported for the needs of the population, the Southern fruits, the fodder and manure, the wool and cotton, and whatever else must be brought from abroad. This one branch of its commercial business requires, precisely on account of its concentration, an amount of writing, travelling, and management which did not formerly exist in the thousands of small houses. But all this is a very minute part of the transactions imposed upon the commercial department of the Government. It has to provide for the payment of

the goods purchased, and as in the socialistic State this cannot be done with money, a great burden arises from it. The State must again stretch its feelers into every quarter of the globe. It must ascertain where the products of its labor are saleable, what articles are desired, how it must manufacture them to surpass other nations, and what their value is in the market of the world. When it has thus obtained insight as to what varieties and quantities of industrial products it needs in order to pay for the imported goods, it orders the Bureau of Labor to have all these things ready at the proper dates; but as soon as information is received that the articles have been manufactured, it must pack, address, and forward them, provide them with letters of advice, and, last but not least, see that in the infinite circumlocution caused by the system of exchange among the nations, it pays in goods for the goods it has purchased. This is a rough sketch of the foreign trade, and I must beg you to tax your imagination a little in order to understand to what extent the labor of this business is increased by having everything which was formerly done in many parts within narrow limits, all these parts doing a mammoth common work—though no one of the various portions had anything in view except the one function which was being performed—by having all this work laid on the shoulders of the Government, which must deal with it with due regard to the tastes, needs, and purchasing power of men."

"I can well understand the remarkable burden of labor resting upon the Bureau of Commerce, or whatever the Government office is called, whose duty it is to direct and arrange commercial affairs," I remarked; "but if I am permitted to interrupt, I should like to ask whether this one power, which has to rule the whole

with a definite consciousness of purpose, does not—precisely because this purpose stands so clearly before it—possess the ability to avoid all these irregularities which only too frequently have caused the most dangerous crises, and which could never be escaped so long as all who sought occupation in trade strove, in a certain sense aimlessly, towards their special goals, paying no heed to the common object of commercial business? Trade sought profit, and troubled itself very little whether the success of the individual business benefited the community or not."

Herr Büchner gazed earnestly at me with his large, pleasant eyes.

"Certainly," he replied, "it can avoid the least irregularity if, like God, it is omniscient and omnipotent. This trifle is the sole requisite. But I suppose this society, socialized by Bebel's recipe, *is* omniscient and omnipotent."

He again burst into his joyous laugh.

"You know, my dear Herr Ost," he went on, "that our old mother Nature is sometimes a little troublesome to us men. She often seems to us inaccurate—not sufficiently exact. Sometimes it is too hot, sometimes too cold; sometimes it rains too much, sometimes it is too dry. Yet for millions of years she has kept the universe in excellent condition. So, too, in the social world, things were often irregular. Prosperous times alternated with bad years: one man made money, another lost it; some gained fortunes without effort, others earned their daily bread by the sweat of their brows. Yet it cannot be said that this social system did not act admirably. It had brought the human race to a splendid degree of development, and if imbecility and greed had not so often meddled with its workings, it would have benefited

men still more, and they would have suffered less from the wide contrasts between wealth and poverty. And in what did this peculiar apparatus consist? It was a vast multitude of parts all working with tireless industry, impelled by a resistless impulse of selfishness, but all held and guided with a firm hand, so that this impulse of selfishness became the motive power of society. From these opposing forces came floods and ebbs, dams and inundations, but Nature, with marvellous wisdom, had provided that all extra high waves should fall back to a level on which the ship of society could safely float. As it regulated the value of everything according to the relation of supply and demand, and made selfishness the spring of work, the result was that the balance of things was restored when destroyed, and that society, after each shock, began to grow and flourish with rejuvenated vigor. Now tell me, my dear sir, where socialistic society is to find the lever to rise again if a crisis should paralyze it? Selfishness, it is true, lives unweakened in the human breast. It is an indestructible part of human nature. But it has been transformed to a quiescent force, which can probably still show its repulsive side, but is incapable of any creative effort. So, with each shock, it must sink lower, lacking strength to rise again. Its gradual decadence is an inevitable necessity. Or do you really believe that this human nature which in the various States is placed at the head of affairs, which has nothing at its disposal save human intelligence and human power, would be capable of directing production with such certainty that in no quarter of the world would a stoppage occur which would make the stream rise in all directions? Bebel says, 'Crises will come, because there is no standard by which the actual demand for any goods can be estimated.' He should have added that

there is also no standard by which the actual quantity of the goods produced can be estimated, and he would then probably have perceived that in judging the needs of the world and the productions of the world, the officials of the socialistic Government would succeed no better than did the merchants of former days, whose weal and woe had depended upon the accuracy of their judgment."

I could not help assenting to this statement, and was forced to admit that, in this respect also, I had been led astray by Mr. Bellamy. The sphere of the world's commerce is too great, and the influence of nature upon man is too changeful, to find an infallible standard for supply and demand. In other respects Herr Büchner, in all that he said, seemed to have read my very thoughts. That selfishness is the real spring of creative power; that this creative power finds pleasure and support in the extension of needs, and that needs and exertion are balanced by a changeless law of nature which regulates the value of everything according to the relation of supply and demand, I had long known, and had not doubted for a moment, that in this mode of valuation lies the power of nature which holds together all the centrifugal interests, and renders them useful in the service of the community. I was no less convinced that society, if deprived of this stimulus of selfishness, must lose the conditions of recuperation after a crisis.

"But we have wandered a little from our subject," Herr Büchner continued. "Hitherto I have only showed you the labor involved in the management of the foreign trade, but home traffic causes the Government no less difficulty. Like the old commercial class, it must investigate the wants of the consumers. It must see that every bale of goods reaches the place where it is

wanted, and that not one is lacking where it is sought. It must not neglect to stimulate demand and create needs, that the wares produced may find purchasers. Nor must it fail to collect from every nook and corner the apparently valueless scraps and remnants, such as rags, bones, skins, etc., which are capable of being converted into articles of use. There are also the same duties formerly discharged by the commercial class, and the same number of articles disposed of by the latter. Can it simplify the work to have this vast business arranged and directed from a single place? Certainly not. All the thousands of auxiliary forces which have performed their work in every nook and corner of the land need constant communication with the central power which, from their reports, must form its judgment, supply their demands, direct their labor, and control their duties. This requires an amount of labor unknown under the former system. So you see that society has gained nothing by the abolition of private business; on the contrary, the transmission of goods, the business of buying and selling requires, in the socialistic State, a considerable increase of the industrial force.

"Now," he added, "we will consider this far-famed decrease of the public officials. How confiding and credulous humanity is! Has governing and managing ceased in the socialistic community? Or has the Government been relieved of business it was formerly compelled to transact? True, it has no more guardianships to undertake, bankruptcies to manage, inheritances to regulate. The working power of a few thousand men may thus be spared. I admit that the number of lawsuits has lessened, since the most important subject of litigation, property, has been abolished; but the Government cannot dispense with a court of law in every city;

therefore the relief is less to it than to the judges. On the other hand, imagine the immense burden which weighs upon it. It owns every foot of land, every domestic animal, all the houses, factories, machines, and tools, all the carts and carriages, all the craft used on the seas and rivers. All these kinds of capital it must use, direct, keep in repair, replace, and increase, to meet the growth of the population. It must direct all the work, agricultural, industrial, personal; it must decide for every branch of labor, every part of the country, every season of the year, what must be made and what industrial force is at its disposal. Imagine what a number of higher and lower officials, stewards, overseers, book-keepers, and clerks it requires to accomplish all these things.

"To aid you a little I will show you, for instance, what a new burden has grown up for the Government out of the mere *distribution of meat.* It begins in the Bureau of Agriculture, whose duty it is to determine, from the reports of the managers of the farms, how many oxen, calves, sheep, hogs, geese, ducks, and hens are available for the slaughter-house—after taking into account the kind and quantity of food in stock, as well as the work to be done in the various branches of farming—and at what seasons of the year they can be delivered. Then comes the Bureau of Forestry and the Bureau of Fishing, which regulate the amount of game to be shot and the number of fish to be taken from the water. All these reports go to the Bureau of Commerce, which has to determine for every part of the country the needs of the whole population, and what kinds of meat or fish are in demand at the various seasons of the year. When this is settled, arrangements must be made to obtain, by purchase from abroad, the requisite amount of cattle at

the time desired. These are preparatory acts; now begins the real business of providing and distributing the meat. After receiving notice of the arrival of a cargo of cattle or meat, the Bureau of Commerce must give directions to what province or district to send it, and their respective officials receive orders to determine, on its arrival, what villages and cities are to obtain it. The Bureau of Commerce is now again notified what additions are needed from the home production of cattle, and the Bureau then requests the Bureau of Agriculture to have them slaughtered. The Bureau of Agriculture now informs its district agents for the distribution of meats what number of the various kinds of animals shall be butchered, the district agents notify the individual farm managers, and the farm managers select the animals to be slaughtered. When the cattle are killed the lower officials in charge of distributing the meat begin their work; they estimate the number of pounds and the kinds of meat which are to be brought to the various shops and markets, receive daily reports of the consumption, needs, and stock, and decide what exchanges are to be made among the shops and markets."

"Pardon me, Herr Büchner," I interrupted. "I was once a farmer myself, and know by my own experience how impossible it is to determine in advance, with any degree of accuracy, what quantity of meat can be brought to market. I cannot believe that the Bureau of Commerce is capable of reaching any decision from the reports it receives."

"Neither can I, my dear sir," replied Herr Büchner, bursting into his merry laugh. "The august Bureau of Commerce will hardly be of the opinion itself that it provides the world with good and cheap meat. For one place there is want and the people are starving; in

another an over supply and the meat spoils. However, you must yet become accustomed to many peculiarities of the socialistic State. The management of things is neither very economical nor very prompt. The distribution of all other articles of use is just as complicated and troublesome as that of the meat. Disorder and irregularity reign everywhere. Even if men do their duty ever so diligently, social democracy has set the Government tasks beyond human ability. But you are now probably convinced that in the socialistic State there has been no saving in the number of officials. On the contrary, their increase has been so great that the amount of working power to be used in manufactures has suffered great diminution."

This was indisputable, and I was forced to perceive that Dr. Leete had investigated this point also very superficially.

"Has not production been much retarded by releasing men from labor at the age of forty-five?" I asked. "Or is this whole story false too?"

"It is, and it is not. True, in so far that this release from labor was promised to the older people. The attempt was made in this way to incline them favorably to the idea of socialism, for the class of this age is specially influential and could not be permitted to stand in the way of the change. At first some relief was afforded them, but this could not last long or the race would have sunk into poverty. The sixty-fifth year is now the legally appointed age-limit of labor, and the working-day of most industrial avocations and of all ages consists of eight hours."

"But Julian West expresses in such extravagant terms his amazement at the vast increase of wealth during the period of his hypnotic slumber?"

"The increase has really been considerable — no less than from 1800 to 1900; but it was obtained only by the old society, not by the new, which has existed but a short time."

"But a short time? According to Dr. Leete, the change took place a hundred years ago."

"A hundred years ago!" The old gentleman shouted with laughter. "No, my dear sir, humanity won't endure this sort of thing a century. A hundred years of socialistic Government would have made us Hottentots long ago."

"But Dr. Leete relates very explicitly how, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the whole capital of the world had collected into the hands of very few persons, whose irresponsible caprices rendered it necessary to wrest it from them and place it in the sole charge of the Government."

"And I tell you that Dr. Leete never put his nose into a manual of statistics. Otherwise he would know that the reverse of that is true. Doubtless the individual business of various industrial branches was greatly enlarged, but the capital which created them came from a number of hands. It is an encouraging phenomenon that, among all nations where there has been progress, property, with the increase of wealth, has been distributed among an increasing number of hands; that while the number of capitalists augmented, the number of those without property diminished. This is proved by the statistics of direct taxation, and, above all, by the increasing milliards treasured in the savings-banks. In the Middle Ages and in ancient times the vast chasm between the rich and the poor might perhaps have given occasion for the socialization of society, but in the past few centuries this gulf has constantly nar-

rowed. The situation of the middle and lower classes became freer, more assured materially, and never did the relations of the various classes of the people to one another—especially that of the employé to the employer—offer less occasion for such a momentous overturning of society than in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries." *

This was certainly true. I knew from my studies in political economy that, even in my time, the development of society was a favorable one. Small and moderate properties were increasing, the personal independence of all classes was perceptibly growing, the rate of wages was rising, and the increasing productiveness of society was tending to the cheapening of all articles of necessity. Though the tariff policy of the nations, through a false conception of questions of political economy, had led to measures which widened class distinctions and fostered dissatisfaction, the material development of society showed itself in the figures of statistics in such a manner that the tendency to the equalization of contrasts was unmistakable."

"But what reasons induced men to overthrow the system of affairs which had existed for ages and grown up in the natural order of events to substitute for it the artificial one of socialized society?"

Herr Büchner stared at me in astonishment. "Rea-

* Herr Büchner's statements in this respect cannot be doubted. Much as was said by the social democrats in the year 1890, as well as in the preceding ones, concerning the increasing concentration of capital in a few hands, up to 1890 no trace of such concentration was to be found in the statistical reports, but on the contrary, the opposite state of affairs appeared with remarkable clearness. It is not to be supposed that any change would take place in this regard within the next decade. At least the movement of capital showed only evidences of facts, according to which a further increase in the number of capitalists must be expected.

sons?" he said, smiling. "There were no reasons—at least, no sensible ones. I mean, by that, no reasons which originated in the social system itself, its defects, or insufficiencies. A condition of universal happiness, such as mankind can dream or desire, a state of humanity in which all enjoy an equal portion of the rarest delights, in which no one suffers want, and no one feels the superior power of another, was certainly no more to be expected from this system of society than a state of the world where no one suffers any lack, no one freezes, no one perspires, no one is ill, and no one in the fulness of vigor meets with a premature end. But it had brought the human race to a high degree of happiness and wealth, and possessed within itself sufficient vigor and capacity of development to alleviate the most crying evils and smooth the contrast between the rich and the poor. It would only have been necessary to make justice the basis of the system of government—that justice which abhors in equal measure the favoring of one class and the injuring of another—and society would have succeeded in securing to the workman a comfortable existence and the consciousness of independence. True, the phenomenon must have had a *cause*. For without cause there is no effect. But it must be sought within the governmental rather than the social system. As the ruling powers of all countries, save England, liked to endow the wealthy classes with privileges, and pursued a policy of customs duties whose purpose, though often denied, was indisputably to favor the small number of those engaged in commerce at the expense of the whole population of consumers, general indignation had been aroused, which perpetually increased. It might perhaps be more convenient for the Governments to have a small number of millionaires

than a large number of small capitalists. But those who were wearily struggling for their existence did not consider it just to have treasures garnered for the few merchants by striving to raise the price of bread, meat, and all the useful articles produced in the country. The working-classes were the most imbittered, because their lives were the hardest and they suffered most from the customs policy; but the other classes, too, were opposed to it, because the resentment of the laborers sharpened the class distinctions of society, and society desired to be at peace with the laboring classes. In order to conciliate the latter, the Governments had resorted to various measures which were undoubtedly useful, and, at any other time, would have removed the contrast; but on account of their obstinately persisting so long in their mistaken ideas, these measures not only failed to effect their purpose, but even increased the exasperation of the populace. Contrasts became heightened, and a passionate class hatred rendered social life disturbed and unpleasant. The more obstinately Governments persisted in favoring those engaged in commerce, the more the rancor increased. Even educated persons became more and more imbued with the idea that the system of government was the cause of the social discomfort. This doubtless occasioned the spread of a belief which was most strikingly at variance with common-sense. Much had been done to awaken intelligence and cultivate the mind. Young people had been taught to penetrate the secrets of nature, but their instructors had neglected the task of explaining the social organization of which they were members, and upon whose successful shaping their weal or woe depended. Men knew many things, but they were ignorant of the most important one, and only a society which had no

suspicion of the harmony in the system of the universe, and could not perceive that this wonderful impulse of social intercourse, according to the mysterious decree of Mother Nature, constantly tends towards peace and equality so long as the ruling powers do not disturb the circulation of the sap with their unjust interference—only such a society could lapse into the error that crying injustice could be removed solely by the overthrow of society. This is the only explanation of a phenomenon which ought not to have occurred in the highly-cultivated period of the twentieth century. The folly of the ruling class was the fertilizing element of an error which could not possibly have found foothold had not rebellion against injustice and ignorance of social phenomena blinded clearness of vision and dimmed intelligence. Now we have a system of government which can no longer favor the rich and injure the poor, but also a social system which contains the germ of ruin and death."

Herr Büchner had risen, and was pacing up and down the room with his hands behind his back.

"It is, however, fortunate for the human race," he continued, "that a century elapsed before the error became universally diffused. If the socialistic Government had been established, as the social democrats hoped, at the close of the nineteenth century, society would have fared far worse. At that time the average income was not more than 8.20 marks, by the year 1994 it had reached 1500 marks, and but for the unfortunate protective policy would have attained a far larger sum. It is only a pity that these 1500 marks had not been kept. But in the new order of society progress has ceased—to remain stationary is impossible; so retrogression becomes the necessary consequence. I

fear that the immediate future will experience much grief and misery."

Herr Büchner paused, and taking a pipe, filled it with tobacco. I should have been glad to hear more; but so many hours had slipped away in this conversation that it would have been inconsiderate to keep the old gentleman up longer. So I rose, expressed my gratitude for the instruction he had given me, as well as his efforts for my amusement, and held out my hand in farewell.

"Farewell," he said; "wait for instructions from the chancellor's office before you make your plans for the journey; but meantime choose your lodgings. Berlin must be your home. You will find a Bureau of Apartments near here on Jägerstrasse; but don't pay too high a rent, lest you should be forced to pinch too much elsewhere. Whenever you are in the capital be sure to call; I am curious to know what impression the new world will make upon you."

So saying, he again shook hands cordially with me, and I took my leave. The street was dazzlingly bright, and I saw Berlin in an unusually radiant eventide glow. What would have been more natural than to let my eyes wander around to compare the new Berlin with the old? But my thoughts were still too busy. Herr Büchner's last words had strongly impressed me. They vividly recalled the events of the year 1890, and gave life to many things which had then been hopes and wishes. In that year an important change had occurred. The old state of things was to remain, people had said, but the forerunners of a new one had appeared distinctly, and the world had cherished a hope that politics might again enter channels which would lead to release from the social discord. Had that beau-

tiful hope been a vain delusion? Had people expected to conciliate the working-classes without depriving the employers of the unjust advantage of the protective duty? Had the young scion of the House of Hohenzollern, who had taken the reins of government into his own hand with so bold a grasp and so just a spirit, omitted to say to the rich and favored members of society: "If you wish me to release you from the nightmare of social democracy, first cast forth from your own bosoms the more hideous social democrats, who cannot keep their fingers from the property of their neighbors."

While engrossed in such thoughts I walked slowly along the street, regretting that I should no longer find time to read the history of those days. At the end of half an hour I reached the Emperor and Empress Frederick Hospital, where I was to sleep for the last time.

CHAPTER V.

DEPARTURE AND HOME-MAKING.

SEVERAL hours passed before I found an opportunity to tell Sister Martha about my visit to Herr Büchner. A serious accident which had happened to a building caused several wounded men to be brought to the institution, and she had been obliged to help the surgeons take care of the injured. This waiting was very torturing to me. It had become a heart-felt longing to talk with the one friend I possessed in the world about what I had gathered from Herr Büchner's bewitching conversation, and, moreover, another burden weighed upon me: I must say farewell. I was to establish myself the next day in my new home, and this would end my daily intercourse with one who had become infinitely dear to me.

The tie which had formed between Sister Martha and myself was a warm and tender one—a bond of the purest friendship, such as rarely exists between two people of different sexes. Not that I was insensible to her personal charms; she had enough to kindle the heart even of a man of my age. Her figure was exquisite, and every movement, every word, every glance revealed a loving nature. Her face was not one whose symmetry would charm an artist's eye, but around her lips lingered an expression which denoted energy and strength of will, and beneath her dark brows flashed beautiful,

fathomless gray eyes, whose depths expressed treasures of love and devotion. But we two were parted by a gulf of years which would have rendered closer ties discordant. I was too old to please her fancy, and she was too young to permit me to have that feeling of perfect equality which is the foundation of a true love. My friendship for her was deep and warm, but I should have considered myself a criminal had I suffered even the shadow of a more ardent feeling to arise in my heart.

At last the torture of expectation ended. Sister Martha was at first depressed by the great misfortune to which a number of worthy men had fallen victims and the terrible injuries she had witnessed, but after she had shaken this burden from her mind she listened with sympathy to my words.

I now spoke of my approaching departure, told her how deeply I esteemed her, how warm my attachment had become, and that I should never cease to be her true and sincere friend. She was evidently moved, and clasped my hands. She, too, she said, felt alone in the world, and it was an infinite joy to find in me a person to whom she could open her whole heart. My departure from the hospital must not cause a total separation between us.

So a bond of friendship was established, knit by the closest sympathy. We promised to continue these relations. I was to seek her as often as I could, and when personal intercourse was impossible correspondence would supply its place. We agreed to communicate whatever was in our hearts, and neither should have a secret from the other.

"I shall hold you to your word," I said, "and I believe I have showed you sufficiently how great is my need of confiding in you. I know of no important

event in my life which I would not trust to you. But what are your own feelings in this respect? I know nothing of your past, and have always felt that you desired to conceal your identity, and motive for adopting, so early in life, a profession which, though noble and beneficent, is so full of sadness."

"I am far from desiring to keep secrets from you, my dear friend," she replied. "On the contrary, it is my most ardent desire to tell you everything that affects my life and moves my heart. But there are matters to which we do not willingly allude, because they open old wounds. Such were the subjects which would not cross my lips. Yet I should not wish to conceal them from you, for it will be a comfort to know that you share my griefs. So I have a favor to ask. I have often, during my quiet evening hours, written out the experiences of the day, and thus prepared a sort of journal, not complete, but sufficiently explicit to call to mind the most important events of my life. I wrote it for myself only; but I should like to give it to you, and have you read it, if you care to do so. I will hand it to you when you leave to-morrow."

Of course I accepted the offer with delight. The next evening my friend's pages would occupy the first solitary hours in my new home.

Sister Martha could not stay long. She was obliged to return to the wounded men, whom she was to watch during the night. She gave me a few bits of information which I could not have found in the journal. Her real name was Louise Wellner. She was the only daughter of a school-master, who idolized her and devoted much time to her education. Just after her confirmation her father died, and, as he left no property, and her mother's widow's pension was very small, her guardian had ad-

vised her to enter a training-school for teachers. Shortly before she was to pass her examination her mother died also, and the young girl deemed herself fortunate to obtain a position as governess in the family of the owner of a country estate. Her stay in this house became a turning-point in her life. During her residence there occurred the revolution of the social system, amid which, however, another event happened that exerted a powerful influence upon her destiny.

So the next morning I left the hospital, not wholly without baggage, for I had in my pocket a credit card of more than 250 marks and also a precious manuscript.

My first errand, of course, was to the bureau where lodgings were allotted, for if I desired to lead a settled life I must first of all—remembering the climate and the state of the weather in November—secure a place where I could lay my head.

I found a pleasant elderly gentleman, who handed me a long list of vacant lodgings with a statement of the price and minute description of the rooms. The list contained apartments ranging from one furnished chamber at 15 marks a month, to unfurnished suites of eight or ten rooms at 100 marks monthly. As my object was to become acquainted with life in the socialistic world, and the manner of living is an excellent gauge by which to measure a nation's standard of existence, I took advantage of this favorable opportunity of getting information from the best source which could be offered to me.

"In former days," I said—"I was familiar with Berlin in the last half of the nineteenth century—the difference in price between the dearest and the cheapest lodgings was far greater than I see in this list. On the one hand, there were apartments renting for four or

five times as much as the most costly ones here, and on the other, very small sleeping rooms, which were considerably lower than the cheapest on this list. So the change to the socialistic system has exerted a very favorable influence here?"

"A great influence, certainly; but whether it is a favorable one in all respects is doubtful. These sleeping places, and also the lodgings in cellars—of which I have read in old histories—had disappeared long before the great revolution. People had learned that the condition of dwellings is of the utmost importance in determining the health of the nation, and there was an energetic campaign against all unhealthful lodgings, as well as strict regulations concerning the amount of air allotted to each person, and, within a few decades, there was not only a favorable change in this respect, but one whose influence was felt in the needs and tastes of even the lowest class of the populace. Still, though it might have been expected that the equal division of income would have promoted progress in this direction, unfortunately a retrograde movement is unmistakable. While, in consequence of this equal distribution, a number of people have been more favorably situated, the advantage does not appear to have led to raising the requirements demanded in dwellings, but on the contrary, since we have had the new social system, it seems to have become more and more customary to limit the expenditures for lodgings to the least possible sum, and the Government, to avoid needlessly building new apartments, is in a certain degree compelled to cut large apartments more and more into smaller ones."

"That is certainly very intelligible in one sense," I replied. "The rich people having disappeared, no one is in a condition to indulge in luxurious lodgings, so the

Government has doubtless been obliged to change large houses into several smaller ones. Yet I should have supposed that equality of income would have caused uniformity in the whole style of living, especially in the choice of residences. Above all, I should imagine that those who were in poor circumstances before the revolution would have availed themselves of their change of position to improve their situation in this particular. Ever since I began to reflect I have noticed that people who gained a larger income, as soon as they had paid the usual tribute to dress, set the utmost value upon the enlargement and increased elegance of their dwellings; so I can find no psychological explanation of this phenomenon."

"The phenomenon did not exist to the same degree at first, and even now it does not pervade the whole social strata. There will always be people who pay a disproportionate part of their income for rent, and would rather dispense with other things than restrict the comfort of their homes. Besides, it often happens that all the members of a family, grown sons and daughters as well as husband and wife, live together, and by their united incomes obtain really luxurious apartments. This inclination, however, is found only in circles where there is a domestic taste and a fondness for family life, and the socialistic State does not foster the domestic virtues and family affection—they might easily engender interests which would be fatal to its existence—and thus the nation is losing the impulse to consider the home the centre of gravity of existence. This fact appears very distinctly in the increasing frequency of the demands for the smallest bachelor lodgings. Even married couples—if that term is still allowable—often ask for them. Small rooms containing a

bed and a few pieces of furniture amply supply the needs which the socialistic State imposes upon domestic life. Such couples have no desire for an establishment which will cause labor and trouble. When they rise in the morning they find coffee-houses to supply a breakfast at every corner; the cook-shops furnish materials for lunch, which can easily be carried in the pocket. Then they hurry home to dress for society, and there is no lack of amusements until far into the night. The less money a person spends for lodgings and the pleasures of domestic life, the more he has for amusements. Therefore, to both men and women, the house serves no other purpose than a place to sleep."

These explanations left me in no doubt that the standard of dwellings had retrograded. I saw clearly that the fact could not redound to the moral elevation of socialistic society, but it also appeared to have some significance from the stand-point of political economy. The furnishing of homes had formerly supported a number of workpeople. Whoever had a large house required many articles of furniture, works of art, and ornaments, many servants to preserve neatness and order, and gave numerous entertainments, dinners, etc. The disappearance of household wants, therefore, set free a number of workers who had formerly been employed in supplying them. Could these laborers be more useful to society in any other way? Could they create in any other occupation things more valuable, more useful, or more capable of enhancing the enjoyment of life?

This was a question to which I could not instantly find an answer, since its solution required a deeper insight into social and business life. So I contented myself for the present with satisfying my own need of a home; and this, spite of the length of the list, was by

no means an easy matter. Yet I had not been spoiled in this respect. When I had a family and lived in the country, I had been obliged to satisfy myself with the quarters I found in the small and very ancient manor-house, which afforded my tastes no wider play than that of rendering these rooms pleasant and habitable. After misfortune had forced me back to a bachelor life, though I had no luxuries, I had been accustomed to consider my office my world, and therefore fitted it up in harmony with my tastes, so that I felt every moment the full charm of comfort. This I desired to secure again, so far as it was possible on the income secured by my credit card. The official proposed several suites of apartments, one of which I selected on account of its pleasant situation. It was on the third floor, contained a large sitting-room with two windows, whose furniture was sufficiently handsome for a gentleman's use, a chamber of nearly the same size, and a small room for the storage of fuel. It cost thirty-six marks a month—the highest price I thought my income would permit me to pay.

Many things, however, were still needed for comfort; a kerosene-lamp, a coffee-pot, a coffee-mill, a small cream-pitcher, and a cup; for without them I should have been compelled to go to a restaurant very early in the morning. Then there were plates and dishes, knives and forks, if I did not wish to be compelled to lunch and dine away from home. Next came a clothes-brush, a blacking-brush, etc., for the rent of my rooms was too high to permit me to apply to the Bureau of Personal Services to keep my apartments, clothing, and shoes in order. Lastly, I needed a stock of fuel. True, the Government would provide for the heating of the rooms it supplied, but it exacted a higher rental for doing so,

and I had no desire to give this sum, nor to make myself too dependent upon it.

My next walk was devoted to obtaining these things, and when, about six o'clock in the evening, I entered my rooms, I brought not only the articles mentioned, but also my supper and a bottle of beer. Meanwhile, however, I had become acquainted with some other phenomena of the socialistic State which afforded me much food for thought. While dining in a large restaurant the idea occurred to me that it might be well to order a bottle of good Rhine wine to celebrate the day. Summoning the waiter, I asked for Neroberger. The young man was evidently puzzled.

"Neroberger?" he asked, taking a card. "I don't find the name on the list. I think it must belong to the better kinds, which are no longer sold in this country."

"What!" I cried, in amazement, "our splendid old wine is no longer sold in Germany?"

"You know," he replied, "that since society has been socialized and all incomes are the same, we have no rich people to pay for expensive wines, and as the demand has nearly ceased the Government determined to sell only the cheaper grades in this country and export the more expensive ones."

I felt as though I had dropped from the clouds; it was a new idea that people in the socialistic State should talk of dear and cheap wines. I had formerly read in Bebel's work that the value of wares in socialistic society would not be regulated by the laws of supply and demand, but solely by the amount of working time spent in their production. Had it required more working time to produce good than poor wine?

"Why, you must be mistaken, my dear friend," I said; "the differences in the quality are the work of the situ-

ation and the sun, but these distinctions do not exact a difference in value. The social democrats make the cost depend solely on the length of the work."

The waiter frowned.

"Matters in the social democratic State don't always work according to the ideas of the social democrats. True, it was so at first; then the best Rudesheimer cost no more than the sourest common wine. But that soon came to an end. Everybody wanted the good liquor, and wouldn't drink the sour kind; and when the good wine was all exhausted before half the people caught a glimpse of it, there was a great outcry about the inequality of the distribution, and a general lamentation and ado all over the world. Since then the Government has found it wiser to distribute only the inferior varieties through the country, and send the fine ones to German East Africa."

"East Africa!" I cried, in horror. "All our fine wines go to East Africa?"

I felt as if I were transported back to the colonial political struggle of the year 1890.

"Yes, to East Africa," he replied.

"But who is there in East Africa to drink all our Rhine wine?"

"Why, the coolies," said the waiter.

"The coolies?" I asked, in amazement. "How did the coolies get to our German East Africa?"

"Well, I remember the history tolerably, as I learned it at school. At first matters in East Africa did not prosper, and the Government took charge and left it to the management of the German East African Society. But this plan cost more and more every year, and there was no profit. After a short time the society utterly failed, and the Government, in order to save the many

millions already invested, saw itself forced to take charge of the agricultural work of the country. Everything went well. Railroads were built throughout the land, the coolies were brought in large numbers, and soon pignuts, coffee, cocoa, maize, and cotton were raised; but when several hundred millions of bales had been successfully packed, the coolies thought that they would fare better as an independent State than as a German colony, so they took the troops into their own service, and sent the imperial commissioner and all the officials home."

"And the German Empire submitted?"

"It was by no means inclined to do so. At first an immense fleet and a large army were to be sent there. Wiser counsel, however, prevailed. It was remembered that such a war would cost millions, and the restoration of all that the soldiers destroyed millions more. Even if the undertaking were successful the colony would again decline, and our brave soldiers would have been sacrificed to the murderous climate in vain. So the Government let the matter rest, and contented itself with concluding a most advantageous contract with the coolies."

"And since that time we have had a large trade with East Africa?"

"A small importation: the products of plantations bought with German millions."

"But at any rate, a large exportation of German manufactures?"

"That's according to people's ideas. They had cannon and guns. The railroads were completed. The natives did not need much clothing, and the coolies sent to their native land for it. The export of brandy was prohibited by international contract. But every year

we dispose of some smokeless powder, tuberculine, bright-colored paper, and artificial flowers."

"But you said that our Rhine wines went there."

"Certainly, but not until later. When all Europe adopted the socialistic system and money was abolished, no further business could be transacted with the coolies. The fellows wanted money for their wares, and nothing but money. Then a clever travelling agent of our Government succeeded in giving them a taste for our Rhine wine. Since that day the business has been very active. Our ships convey the wine there, and bring us pignuts, coffee, etc."

I thought my heart would stop beating. These yellow rascals, with the Mongolian eyes, enjoying the flower of Father Rhine! And all because that wretched notion of equality denied one the pleasure because there was not enough for all. But I could change nothing; so the upshot of the matter was that I went home without the Neroberger.

A few paces from the restaurant I saw a cigar-shop, and hoped to obtain compensation there. I first inquired for the ordinary kinds, and priced several varieties. They were somewhat lower than in former days because a duty had been removed, but the aroma did not quite suit me.

"The tobacco industry doesn't seem to flourish," I said. "The excellence of the plant which still remained, spite of all the gossip occasioned by the duties, I no longer find."

"That is very probable," answered the shopkeeper; "more foreign than home-grown tobacco was formerly used, and therefore, at least in the more expensive cigars, the better qualities of the foreign weed preponderated. But since the task of supplying the community with

tobacco has fallen upon the Government, it is difficult for it to procure a medium of exchange with which to deal in the foreign plants. So we use more of the national production."

"Very well," I answered, "we must submit to the inevitable, and I will console myself with the reflection that I am smoking no worse cigars than the rest of the world. This evening, however, I should like to treat myself to something specially choice. Give me at least *one* genuine Havana, no matter how dear it may be."

"I am afraid I cannot accommodate you," said the man, rummaging among a number of empty boxes. "The genuine ones I had have all been used, and we have had no additional supply."

"You have had no additional supply? Does the Government import no genuine cigars?"

"It doesn't pay to do so; the demand has ceased. Since incomes have been made equal, we have no rich class who possess the means for such pleasures. But, on the other hand, everybody has an equally good quality."

"So the highest goal the human race can attain is to have everybody so situated that no one fares worse than the richest member of society. Yet that seems to me a doubtful advantage if, in consequence, the greatest enjoyments are lost. Are there no longer any treasures of art for sale?"

"Scarcely to private individuals. When no one has more than is required for the necessities of life, nothing can be spent for costly pleasures."

"And the beautiful rugs and portières, the costly vases and carvings?"

"No doubt they can still be found in the old houses, but they are no longer manufactured. Why should the

State have these things made if there is no one to buy them?"

"And the exquisite silks and velvets?"

"Some are still manufactured, but not in large quantities. Respectable women have not much money to purchase them, and we have enough for the less scrupulous ones."

I left the young man and turned my steps homeward. Within the past few hours a series of entirely new ideas had dawned upon me. Many of the wants mankind had formerly cherished had entirely disappeared. Equal distribution of property had resulted in making the human race, as a whole, poorer. But, by way of compensation, there were no more poor men; all had more than enough for their daily bread, and no one fell into poverty and want. The exchange, according to my idea, could not be so bad. It may not be necessary to have rich citizens who revel in luxury and extravagance, but it can only be a blessing that there are none who consume their daily bread amid tears, who are starving and freezing. Necessary wants have been satisfied, unnecessary ones abolished. I was almost ashamed of having cherished a wish for a bottle of Neroberger and an Havana cigar, and rejoiced in the happiness of the millions who must have profited so much by the equal distribution of wealth.

Yet a pang seemed to pierce my heart; I felt as though this diminishing of wants could be no favorable presage for the future of mankind. The happy faculty men possessed of increasing their wants with every new enjoyment had undoubtedly been the real cause of the growth of wealth, for without it human intellect and human strength could not have perpetually devised and created novelties which stimulated the desires, tastes,

and fancies of men. If, during my past, there were so many persons who sold their labor cheaply or sought work in vain, the sole cause of this phenomenon was that the higher wants were not sufficiently diffused. Will not this cause be intensified if the wants called into existence vanish? Will not the opportunities of profitable employment lessen more and more if there is no longer any desire for so many things which formerly called forth human labor?

The question I was striving to understand was a complicated and difficult one. If I simply followed the conclusions of logic, a cheerless, gloomy picture rose before me. If wants had actually diminished, the human race, civilization, and prosperity were retrograding. They had lost the stimulus which might have given support. A society whose fundamental basis is equality may sink into poverty, but can never rise to wealth. The increase of property is accomplished by no other process than that which attends the growth of organic creatures. The animal or the plant grows by building its body cell by cell, as one portion after another seeks nourishment from the circulation of the vital fluids. Can a social body outgrow its limits if the fundamental principle of equality prevents its parts from receiving the nourishment which all the portions cannot appropriate at the same time, and refuses to permit one part to rise above another?

But, on the other hand, had I obtained reliable proof that wants had lessened? Had not the gain been as great in one direction as the loss in another? Had not the poorer people increased their wants in the same proportion as the richer ones; by the levelling of incomes, had been forced to diminish theirs?

I was unable to make the comparison, and had as yet

seen too little of the world to be able to recognize all the consequences which must follow the change.

Meanwhile I had reached my lodgings, and deemed it better to cease prematurely racking my brains, and quietly wait to judge the facts, which could not be long concealed from me.

My lamp was soon diffusing its cheerful light. I drew Sister Martha's manuscript from my pocket and experienced a thrill of pleasure when the beloved characters lay before me. Stretching myself comfortably on my sofa, I read with increasing interest what a beautiful soul and a dainty hand had inscribed upon the paper.

CHAPTER VI.

SISTER MARTHA'S JOURNAL.

April 16, 1993.

I HAVE now been in my new home three days, and my heart is cheered by the thought that I am again at work and can make myself useful. It is hard to lose all in so short a time, and to stand alone in the world among strangers. But these people seem to be generous, noble souls, whom it will be easy to love. There is no trace of the arrogance or the patronage which poor orphans are so often made to feel, but sincere sympathy and genuine kindness of heart. Herr Hormann is really the admirable man he was described to be—just and kind to every one. Frau Hormann is frugal, merry, and industrious, the very person for a country-gentleman's wife. Everybody on the farm and in the village appears to honor and love her. Little Mathilde is a good and pretty child, with excellent abilities. She is fond of me, and I shall enjoy teaching her. I am already charmed with my new home. Meiendorf is a delightful place.

May 20, 1993.

There has been a great deal of bustle in the house during the past fortnight. Neighbors and other friends coming and going! If we had not learned it from the newspapers, we should have read in the faces of the people that strange things are under consideration, things which stir the mind and stop the breath. The move-

ment originated in America. The Society of the Apostle of Peace there gradually attracted prominent men from all the countries of Europe, and a great Congress, attended by thousands, arrived at the bold resolution of calling into existence an entirely new arrangement of society. People long to be at peace with the working-classes, and are weary of seeing the insatiable selfishness of many large employers, and the timidity of Governments in opposing them prevent the quiet development of civilization. The idea seems to find a fruitful soil everywhere, and the Governments, with their little party of large land-owners and manufacturers, watch the movement helplessly.

May 25, 1993.

This evening Herr Hormann took a long walk with us, and explained the new movement in detail. People want to socialize society, as they term it. That is, they want to rid the world of the conflict of interests, take the whole production, the business of agriculture, manufactures, and trade, from the hands of individuals, and put everything under the sole charge of the Government. All private business must cease, and the Government is to undertake the work. As the State has hitherto managed the railroads, postal routes, and parts of other branches, it is now to manage all the property and all the labor.

This seems to me a good idea, for I cannot understand why so many millions struggle for a bare existence, while labor creates commodities enough to afford all a comfortable livelihood. Herr Hormann is not averse to the plan. He is a humane, unselfish man, and will readily sacrifice his beautiful estate and be content with what all the others have if only it will benefit the human race.

But he fears that Governments will not be able to play the part of Providence to mankind. His wife, kind and benevolent as she is, likes the plan less. She thinks first of her children; other interests take a secondary place.

May 30, 1993.

The project of socialization does not seem to meet with the universal favor which was anticipated. Most of the women are opposed to so radical a change. A large number of workmen rebel against having the money they have deposited in the savings-banks thus arbitrarily seized. Many mechanics and small land-owners object. They would prefer to earn less and to retain their independence. But the most bitter antagonists of the plan are the leaders of social democracy. It is said that they are vexed because no profit will accrue to them, and therefore resist an idea which they have always advocated. There is no hope of winning over the latter; but the projectors of the movement hope to gain the others, and are setting every lever in motion to accomplish it. For this purpose Bebel's book, *Woman in the Past, the Present, and the Future*, is to be widely scattered to show people what a fortunate change they will make.

June 2, 1993.

I have studied Bebel a little. Much of his work pleases me. I like to have a man boldly uncover the defects of society, for so long as people shut their eyes there can be no improvement. There is no doubt that women often suffer sore injustice. Those who do not marry are forced to toil hard for sustenance or take an occupation which does not suit their tastes.

But though I approve of Bebel's taking up the cause of oppressed women, I cannot understand from what I

have read hitherto why it should be necessary to transform the whole social system in order to help her. No good surgeon would cut off a man's foot because a corn ached.

June 3, 1993.

No; Bebel is a detestable man! He cannot have had the least idea of a woman's nature or her value to society. He must have had little comprehension of civilization or morality.

I should like to know where he obtained his views of what benefits woman. Surely he can have had little acquaintance with noble-minded ones. If any of the men with whom I frequently associate should ever make such proposals for the elevation of the female sex I think I should be ashamed.

He wants women to have the right to seek the men whom they prefer, as men have always followed their inclinations. If he could only force the men never to refuse! Otherwise I fear no young girl will venture to make a man an offer of marriage. Nor can I see how the socialization of society is to prevent unhappy love affairs. That one loves and the other feels no responsive affection has happened ever since the beginning of the world, and will probably continue in the future, whether production is carried on by the State or by individuals. But people to whom matrimony is a matter of calculation, not of affection, will not wed from affection in the socialistic State. If money has ceased to lure, objects of calculation will be sought in position, kind of occupation, circle of acquaintance, etc.

Bebel's purpose in rendering women physically as strong as men by means of gymnastic exercises, etc., is incomprehensible to me. Must women become dragoons? Or does he propose to extend the principle of

equality to the sexes? One difference he will probably be forced to permit: that men shall remain men, and women women.

June 8, 1993.

Frau Hormann's brother, Herr Albert Croner, has been here during the past week. He is a handsome, vivacious man, with extremely polished manners, who has brought much gayety into the house. An engineer by profession, he has spent a great deal of time in England and America, and his conversation about his experiences is very interesting. But he has also read many books, and seems to be remarkably well informed. I like him because he is always so cheerful and enters into every jest. He does not favor the socialization of society; he laughs at it, and it is very amusing to hear him. Yet the laughter does not seem to me to come from the heart; it is more like an effort to conceal deep indignation. According to my idea, Herr Croner is a great philanthropist and an acute thinker, and it tortures him to perceive that men are on the point of taking a step which he believes will result in the destruction of all prosperity and civilization.

Meetings for the discussion of the momentous question are now of almost daily occurrence. Herr Hormann attended one yesterday, and returned home depressed and sad. He thought the number of those who were really persuaded was not yet very great; people had often shaken their heads doubtfully when a speaker had urged the advantages of the socialistic State too emphatically. But it was a bad sign that there was no serious opposition from the masses, and that no speaker who attempted to defend the existing order of society received the least applause. There is too much dissatisfaction existing among the people because every one

is forced to pay tribute from his hard-earned wages to the great land-owners and great manufacturers, and the latter are still allowed political privileges. He fears that it is but a step from this discontent to the support of the new plan.

June 15, 1993.

We have taken long walks almost daily during this delightful weather. Herr Croner was always one of the party and always very gay. I cannot conceal from myself that he grows daily more dear to me. I feel as though something was missing if he is not present. He is a thoroughly sincere man with a noble nature.

Yesterday evening I went out a moment to enjoy the moonlight. A wonderful radiance flooded the fresh green foliage. Suddenly Herr Croner stood beside me, jestingly reciting the "Magical Moonlit Night." Then he said, "I don't know what is the matter with me now, Fraulein Wellner. Every evening when I see the moon I ask but one question. Have you no question to put to the Man in the Moon?" I did not know what to say, but I had not the courage to ask him what he desired to learn from the moon.

June 18, 1993.

The strangest news comes daily from America. There must be great excitement there. People seem fairly frenzied. Since the year 1000, when in the old days men, fearing the end of the world, bequeathed their property to the Church, and devoted themselves to praying and psalm-singing, there has never been such contempt for earthly possessions. Whatever can be turned into money is sold for the smallest sums, and people who have money in their pockets try to invest it in amusements or in things which need not be relinquished after the transformation of society. Business at the Stock Exchange has ceased.

June 19, 1993.

Yesterday evening—it seems as though I could not hold my pen—I became engaged to Albert Croner. Oh, what happiness! If only my parents had lived to witness it! We went to walk in the garden at twilight. The evening was marvellously beautiful, and the spell of an infinite magic thrilled my breast. My heart throbbed till my breath almost failed. Conversation flagged. Albert was more gentle than usual, and his voice sometimes faltered. Suddenly, in the hazel alley he stopped and clasped my hand. "Louise," he said, in a tone which I shall never forget, "it must be said at last. I love you and cannot live without you. May I not call this little hand and your noble heart my own?" I don't know what I said to him, or whether I said anything at all. I sank into his arms, overwhelmed with happiness and joy.

After some time we entered the sitting-room, where the family had gathered. I sat in a corner, unable to utter a word. When I went to my room Frau Hormann followed, embraced, and kissed me.

June 22, 1993.

My happiness knows no bounds. How delightful it is to love such a man! I desire to live for him alone, serve him, and find in him the support of my life. The goal of my existence lies clearly before me, steeped in sunlight; and where can there be a fairer vocation than to make a pleasant home for a beloved husband, and drive the clouds of depression from his brow?

How beautifully morning follows night! I no longer feel that I am a desolate orphan, but see the world illumined with the radiant light of hope. Ah, if I could only tell my parents how happy I am!

June 28, 1993.

The frenzy seems to be invading Europe. In Russia the peasants are leaving their villages, and roving through the land shouting and carousing. All the magistrates are flogged, amid demands for the return of the money of which they have robbed the people. In France men and women embrace one another in the streets, and rave about the kingdom of equality and justice. The Germans, too, seem to have lost their senses. Those hitherto doubtful have ceased their opposition, and the idea is beginning to gain the upperhand that the welfare of humanity depends upon having no capital and no speculators. Thoughtful people shake their heads, but they are cowardly and silent.

Albert says that men have gone stark mad, but that is nothing new under the sun. History is rich in instances that cultivated nations have been dominated by absurd ideas, and no age has lacked men who, though talented and clever, have believed the most ridiculous rubbish. But whenever whole nations have been swept along by a foolish movement, the inciting cause was always the extravagance of the class specially favored by the possession of wealth and intelligence.

England alone seems to be still free from the infection. Albert says that it is because the development of the nation has been an untrammelled and quiet one, and because the Government has not made consumers pay tribute to speculation. Yet, unfortunately, England would be drawn into the vortex too. One sensible person cannot hold his ground amid a throng of fools. Strive as he may, folly is always contagious.

July 7, 1993.

A new International Congress has been summoned.

The nations want to agree upon the measures by which the old social system is to be transformed into the new at the same time and in the same way. The session will commence on the 15th.

July 17, 1993.

The Congress has met, the debate is in progress. All the newspapers are full of it. Apparently this time there will be no delay due to many speeches, for there is no room in the assemblage for any wide differences of opinion. After an impressive opening address from the President, an old social democrat of the purest water, one of those who are very angry because the movement has grown beyond their control, replied. He warned his hearers against following any model or copying anything which had previously existed. They must follow the lofty words of Liebknecht, that *the Government of the present must grow into the Government of the future.* But such roars of laughter greeted him that he could not say another word. Some one replied that a more foolish saying was never uttered, for it would be impossible for things which did not bear the slightest relationship to grow into one another. The socialistic Government was the very opposite of the present one; there was not the slightest thing in common. That private business should develop into Government business, and private property into Government property, was as impossible as for oil to become water or oxygen quicksilver. If people wanted a socialistic State there was but *one* way of getting it: a law must be passed abolishing property, declaring the Government sole possessor of everything, forbidding men to render each other services, and making the whole industrial force subject to the Government. This was recognized as the only possible plan,

and it was resolved to render it the foundation on which to consult concerning the measures to be adopted.

This seems to be perfectly logical and just, but I think the question first to be considered was whether this complete contrast to the existing Government is really capable of preserving the life of society. The contrary might easily happen. If one fills a lamp with water instead of with oil there is no bright flame.

July 18, 1993.

At the second session of the Congress a leader of the social democracy again came forward. He uttered an impressive warning against making the whole change at once. People should content themselves with trying single measures in order to glide into a government of the future *à la* Liebknecht. Drawing out an old pamphlet of the year 1891,* he moved to follow its suggestion of at first depriving only the owners of *large* manufactories of their property, compensating them by the issue of bonds bearing no interest, and abolishing the right of heritage in the case of large fortunes. On the other hand, agriculture was to be carried on by means of agricultural societies of the small farmers, and manufacturing was to be managed by unions. But this speaker, too, aroused general disapproval. People said that compensation by bonds which could not be inherited would be no compensation—merely a life pension.

A second speaker earnestly exhorted his hearers against any recognition of the duty of compensation. To grant that there was no actual right to transfer private prop-

*This must be an allusion to Curt Falk's pamphlet, published early in 1891: *Efforts of Social Democracy, illumined by Eugene Richter's Ravings*, a work which follows the usual tactics of the social democrats, who dissemble their real purpose as soon as it is grasped.

erty to the Government was to deny the legality of the Government of the future. Only by the promulgation of the idea that everything in the world was the common property of all mankind could the socialistic Government be placed on a legal basis. Besides, it would be impossible to draw the right line between the owners of large and small establishments.

A third speaker protested that to conduct agricultural and manufacturing enterprises in common would be jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. Better let everything go in the old way, for all such societies and unions would speedily be at variance with one another. Some would prosper better than others, so there would speedily be rich and poor again. The continuance of the social system according to the socialistic principle would be endangered if any chance existed by which one individual could obtain more than another. The nature of all property is to increase rapidly, and people would never be at rest if any one had an opportunity to become, by greater prosperity, superior to his fellows.

Therefore, at this session, it was resolved that, on a certain day to be appointed later, all property should be declared the property of the nation, and, as such, be taken into possession by special officials. On that day each individual should be allowed to retain only the following articles: all kitchen and dining-room furniture, empty casks, and other utensils for the preservation of food, all the furniture and ornaments of rooms, with the exception of those composed of gold, silver, or precious stones, also the clothing each person has on that day, but with empty pockets, and with jewelry excepted, and, finally, the supply of food and drink necessary for support during the first week of the new Government. From the beginning of the second week, however, save

the articles exempted, the individual can own nothing except what he obtains by purchase from the Government.

According to the newspaper reports, there was a long debate over this resolution, but it was finally unanimously adopted, because people were all convinced that the socialistic Government could be established in no other way. A proposal to use the words "property of society," instead of "property of the State," was voted down because, in the socialistic community, the ideas of State and Society were identical.

My fear is that most of the people will hide provisions and articles of clothing, and there will be numerous informers, legal investigations, and punishments.

July 19, 1993.

At the third session it was agreed that all money and all uncoined gold and silver should be walled up in buildings proof against thieves and fire, retaining only a certain quantity, to be determined later, for the manufacture of jewelry, and for use in the arts. This amount is to be fixed every five years by an International Congress, according to the demand. Gold, silver, and gems can be obtained by mining, etc., only in such quantities as they are needed for ornaments and use in manufactures. Gold, silver, and gems found must be delivered, on pain of punishment, to the Government of the country where the discovery was made, but the amount fixed for use in the arts and in jewelry must be deducted. The importation of gold, silver, or gems from countries which have not joined the League of Socialized States is prohibited. The precise definition of what would be classed as gold, silver, and precious stones would have to be determined by an international congress of naturalists. In case of contravention, each separate State would

be subject to a penalty consisting in the delivery of its produce gratis to all the other States, according to their population. The amount and nature of the goods will be fixed in all cases of dispute by an international court of arbitration.

On the seventh day after the socialization of society every citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one will receive a credit card representing the value of all goods and services, ascertained by the statistics of the last three years, divided by the number of those entitled to credit cards. These are arranged so that all possible sums required for the purchase of goods, or the use of other services of the Government, can be cut off with coupon shears. The method of arrangement and the fixing of the value of the credit cards are regulated by each Government. The sum will be fixed each succeeding year by the total value of the wares and services available for consumption during the previous year. The credit cards can be used in foreign countries only in cases where the Government issuing them explicitly states that it will pay for the wares and services in other goods acceptable for exchange.

The valuation of the wares and services given by the State to the holders of the credit cards is fixed by the Governments of the various countries according to the standard of money which was legal currency in them before their socialization. The length of time requisite for the production of an article must be, as far as possible, the standard of valuation, unless influenced by special circumstances, such as too large or too small a demand on the part of the public, or consideration for the saleability of other wares.

In international commerce no exchange of goods takes place except between the Governments them-

selves, and all disputes are settled, like the determining the consumption of gold and silver, by an international council. The valuation and reckoning of the exchanges made between the Governments are by an international syndicate.

My brain fairly whirled when I had read all this, but one point in the whole debate is clear—without these conditions the socialization of society would be impossible.

July 20, 1993.

No conclusion has yet been reached concerning the subject of the fourth session. The debate was upon the organization of labor. The leaders of the social democrats again sought to put in a wedge, and brought forward the old commonplaces they always have at hand whenever their ideas are seriously considered. This time it was Friedrich Engel whose words they quoted: "*The concerted organization of the common production of society is a bound of the human race from the realm of necessity to the realm of liberty.*" They maintained that it could never lead to liberty to have the State direct the labor of the community, because that would impose the utmost constraint upon the individual. They therefore demanded that each branch of production should have the right to organize its own labor. But they were energetically routed by the reply that a socialistic Government in which all the labor was not managed by the organs of the State would be like the knife with neither handle nor blade. If the people were unwilling to commit the whole production, down to its minutest details, to the guidance of the State, it would be better to let matters pursue the old course, in which the individual was not dependent upon the State, but had to suffer the consequences if his

work did not supply the needs of society. On the other hand, the individual, being protected by the socialized Government, must submit to having his labor directed by the State and not by the special branch of industry to which he belongs. It was added that, without Government management, there might easily be a lack of the goods on whose exchange the nation must depend for obtaining the most important commodities from other countries.

So the principle that the whole labor of the nation must be under the direction of the Government was readily settled. And the second—every citizen is under obligation to work for the State—followed no less easily.

Wide differences of opinion existed concerning the further question, whether each person should choose his or her occupation or whether the State had the right of allotting it. Some said that to empower the Government to dispose of the labor of every individual would be carrying compulsion too far. There was no reason to do so, for tastes vary so much that the interests of the community would be fully satisfied by letting every one choose the avocation suited to his skill and preference.

But others opposed this view. There were too many pursuits, they said, which had extremely disagreeable features, and no one would undertake them unless in a certain sense forced to do so, or urged by the prospect of unusually high wages. People were fond of comparing the universal duty of labor to the universal duty of defence, so let them be consistent. If, granting the universal duty of defence, individuals were permitted to choose their weapons, many would doubtless select the cavalry, few the infantry. In the same way, to allow free choice of avocation in the general duty of labor

would lead to a surplus in the pleasanter and cleaner pursuits, while others would show a deficit, and the fundamental principle of the direction of the industry of the community by the State would be an empty sound.

Both views were eagerly discussed, and it almost seemed as if the disagreement on this point would frustrate the whole project. After a six hours' debate, the presiding officer closed the session and made the continuance of the discussion the order of the day at the next meeting.

July 21, 1993.

At the fifth session this point also was speedily brought to an amicable conclusion. Shortly before it opened the following proposal was made: The choice of employment is the affair of the individual. But if, contrary to expectation, the mishap occurs that some occupations have a surplus and others a lack of industrial force, the Government is empowered to adopt certain measures to remedy the evil. The mover of this resolution stated that it satisfied both parties. On the one hand, it saved the Government from lacking the means to direct production for the advantage of the community, and, on the other, it avoids needless constraint of the individual. Whoever was of the opinion that society could permit freedom of choice could accept the resolution without demur, and whoever feared the contrary would find in it an ample remedy. This statement was not contradicted, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

The discussion of the second subject, the educational and school question, revealed that different needs existed in the various countries, and the conclusion was soon reached that there would be no danger of coming into collision with the customs, morals, and educational necessities of the different nations if the same rules were

adopted for all Governments. It was therefore determined to leave each country to direct and arrange its educational system in the manner which seemed, according to the degree of culture and the views of the people, the method best adapted to the wants of socialized society.

A third question, woman's position in the State and the child's in the family, was dismissed as not yet ready for judgment. It was deemed better to obtain a deeper insight into this important matter by means of discussions in the press and public meetings. January 2, 1994, was appointed as the date when the socialistic system should be introduced, and the President closed the session with thanks for the labor of the Congress.

July 22, 1993.

Albert has been absent on a long journey, and did not return till noon yesterday. Towards evening we took a long walk, and our talk turned upon the social question. Albert said that, considering the great folly which had seized upon mankind, it could not be denied that the Congress had acted very sensibly. In no other way would it have been possible to establish the socialistic Government. But he was sorely annoyed and depressed—he called it a disgrace to our age of civilization and intelligence—that no better solution of the social problem could be found.

The principal fault lay with the favored classes, not the workmen. It was a bad condition of affairs that so high a degree of culture could not enable men to shake off their inherited prejudices. But this society, in which we live and of which we are members, sees no one save through the spectacles which the prejudices of class, education, and interests put on. Class prejudice, especially, makes the cleverest people fools.

I listened with delight. There is nothing in the world more noble than an unprejudiced man. And how thoroughly he was in the right in everything! All these prejudices cause the land-owner, the manufacturer, the mechanic, the merchant, the scholar, the laborer, to hold totally different views of society, its aims, and its life. Yet there is reason for it. The schools have filled our heads with knowledge, but they have not sufficiently instilled the real purpose of all education, the war against our prejudices.

July 24, 1993.

I asked Albert to-day whether there was no possibility that men in the socialistic society might advance along the path-way of prosperity. "Imagine an oak in a flower-pot," he said, "and ask yourself whether it can grow and put forth branches while its roots lack room. If the human race is deprived of the impulse of gain, and the desire to accumulate property, it is robbed of the very powers whose purpose is to obtain nourishment."

July 27, 1993.

Since the Congress has performed its main task, no check is possible. People talk of nothing but the socialization of labor, as they formerly discussed the weather, and the land-owners go about with long faces.

July 29, 1993.

The status of woman and children is now being discussed. The opinion that woman has equal rights with man as a member of society is gaining ground. Therefore she must receive an equal portion of the general income. This, however, requires her to devote her powers, like him, to the production of goods.

Theoretically, this may be no bad idea, but I don't know who is to attend to the house-keeping, and provide for the children, if women are confined in the workshops.

August 1, 1993.

Socialism has a provision for everything. It conquers obstacles by simply pushing them aside. I believe, had social democrats lived before the discovery of navigation, they would have thought of draining the ocean before building ships. If house-keeping and rearing children are an obstacle to the equalization of the sexes, they abolish the duties of the house-keeper and the mother. Family life is to be transferred to dining-rooms and restaurants, and children are to be reared and educated in Government institutions. Equality is a beautiful thing! Everything must be regulated exactly according to Bebel!

August 4, 1993.

To-day I found in the paper an article which exactly expressed my own feelings. The writer warned people against carrying the principle of equality to extremes. Woman cannot be made happy by depriving her of her natural vocation, and, moreover, thereby robbing the world of the infinite benefits derived from the feminine nature and feminine self-sacrifice. Woman's quiet domestic industry has also contributed to the establishment of prosperity and the progress of civilization, and humanity will be thrust from the height it has attained if woman is assigned to an unfamiliar sphere of labor. Equality can be obtained by aiding the married people to support their children.

That is my opinion, too. Let woman remain the mother of her children, the care-taking wife of her husband. If a few women miss their vocation because

they do not marry, or are unhappy in their marriages, seek relief for them, but leave to the sex what is rightfully its due.

August 7, 1993.

The recent article in the papers has drawn forth numerous answers. Among them many are irrelevant, many mere nonsensical babble. But unfortunately there are also many whose sound sense cannot be denied, and I fear, as the current is now setting, that they will gain the victory. The reasons adduced for intrusting the rearing of children to the Government are as follows:

The socialization of society will place the human race in an entirely different region from that in which it has hitherto developed, and it must therefore strive to adapt itself to it, as plants do when taken from the mountains to the plains, from heavy to light soil. It is a peculiarity of the socialistic Government that it no longer divides society into men and women, but imposes upon all its members, without distinction of sex, the same conditions of existence. People cannot accommodate themselves to this peculiarity if they continue to maintain the arrangements which prevent women from giving to society what it demands and receiving what is their due. A woman who avoids the universal duty of labor because she is keeping house for her husband and rearing her children, will prove a source of discord in every direction. She will become a burden to her husband, destroy the universal conditions of existence, and check the action of the fructifying power of socialism, the equal distribution of the goods of this world. A man who receives from the total production of labor the portion to which he is entitled as a man and a laborer, but who has to maintain with this portion not only himself

but a wife and six or eight children, is not a peer among his peers, but a sorely oppressed creature who undoubtedly, by his numerous children, renders the greatest service to society, but who has no share in the benefits they will bestow.

If the proposal is made to give to every father, for every child, a certain claim upon the productions of society, which must be acknowledged as an effort to solve advantageously and according to a just estimate an apparently difficult problem, closer examination will show that the plan cannot compass its object and is wholly impracticable. If the suggestion is intended to provide means to defray the board of each child, the estimate must be sufficiently large to provide for delicate children, who require more food, clothing, and shelter. But in that case the fathers whose children possessed stronger constitutions would have an unfair advantage, because they would require less expenditure, while on the other hand, by small services, trifling earnings, and the performance of household tasks, they would reap from their children many advantages over others. Thus in avoiding Scylla they would encounter Charybdis. In the attempt to escape inequality, fresh sources of inequality would be evoked; but the economical effect which would result from such a payment of board would weigh even more heavily in the scale than the previous objection. The number of children under fifteen amounts to 35 per cent. of the whole population; that is, with the present number of inhabitants of the German Empire, to thirty-five millions.*

* The population of the German Empire increased from 1870 to 1885 on an average 92 per cent. annually. In 1885 it was 46,855,704 persons, and at the same rate of increase would have reached 96,428,294 in the year 2000. If, according to the above estimate, it was really

If a rate of only 300 marks was paid—the smallest sum allowable—it would amount to 10½ milliards, while one-half would amply suffice if the support and education of the children were provided in Government institutions. Society would thus sustain a loss of more than five milliards; and as, moreover, millions of mothers who would have to care for children under five years old could not only produce nothing for society, but must draw their support from the general fund, the rearing of children in families would cause a total loss to society annually of six and a half to seven milliards of marks, which would be more than could be endured. So it is evident that this point, too, must be arranged to suit the nature of socialized society. If it is hard for many mothers to be separated from their children, they must remember the physical and intellectual delights the new Government affords, and that they will thus attain the dignity and freedom which, according to Bebel, has never been their lot as social slaves. Even the senseless brute soon recovers from the loss of her young; how much easier it will be for a woman, who has the power of reasoning, to accommodate herself to the inevitable.

My blood fairly boiled when I read all this. It may be practical and logical, and I, too, believe that the existence of the socialistic State would be imperilled by any other course. But I also know that I no longer value the human race if it accepts such abominable folly.

August 9, 1993.

Yesterday evening the conversation turned upon our marriage. Frau Hormann asked whether we had as yet fixed any date. We had often discussed the matter, but

100,000,000, this additional increase would appear to be due to the battle against the bacilli.

in the present condition of affairs no plans can be formed for the future. Albert has been trying to get the position of manager of one of the large factories, and as soon as he obtained it we were to have been married. But since the great revolution has been anticipated, no such position is possible. Business is almost at a stand. No one thinks of new enterprises, and no one will dream of making improvements in old ones. Herr Hormann said that, as soon as the new order of things was settled, Albert must seek a situation in a large Government establishment. His ability was so well known that the State would be glad to secure such assistance. Albert agrees with him, and says if he can once get a place suited to his taste the magistrate can unite us immediately. But he jestingly estimated what a fine exchange he would make. Hitherto he had received a salary of 6000 marks; henceforth he must be content with the payment allotted to every workman who did nothing but hammer and file according to the models and drawings he had worked out with severe mental toil.

This is the least thing that troubles me. I have but one desire—to be Albert's wife. Everything else is a minor matter. I would go with him to the end of the world, though the road led through thorns and thistles.

August 11, 1993.

The question of the rearing of children continues to be eagerly discussed, and women also mingle in the debate. An authoress—she is said to be old, ugly, and thin, but very fond of men—lately marvelled at the narrow-mindedness of her sex. It would be foolish to imagine that every mother would rear her child best. The Government institutions would have the most talented educators, and every woman ought to be glad to

know that her child was in such hands, and that she herself would have no obstacles in the way of enjoying life.

The world is in a bad way. People don't read what sensible persons write, while the most foolish trash is eagerly devoured.

August 12, 1993.

This morning a number of colts which Herr Hormann had bought at the fair arrived at the estate. They were shut up in a paddock, and the grooms rode off with the mares. It was really a pitiful sight. When the colts saw their mothers go away they grew frightened and dashed wildly about, while the poor mothers neighed mournfully for them.

And that is the way they want to treat human beings in future! O foolish, brutal world! What will be my calling as Albert's wife? My heart fairly stops beating. The thought is enough to drive one mad.

September 8, 1993.

Herr Hormann has taken a long journey with Albert and me. We have seen many beautiful things and met many people. I have often talked with the peasants, and grew more and more convinced of the good which exists in these warm hearts. I became attached to most of them, and like to recall them to mind. I noticed how fondly they all loved their children. Good friends became bitter enemies because there was gossip concerning the daughter of one family and the son of another, and whenever I treated the little ones kindly I instantly won the parents' hearts. My greatest pleasure was to walk through the village streets on the evenings of holidays. There were the prettiest pictures everywhere. Everybody was out-of-doors. The men were

smoking their pipes and holding the children in their laps, while the mothers were knitting stockings.

And this pure and lofty joy was to be abolished from the world! And for what? To have castles and palaces? To have crowns and sceptres? The socialists say: for law and justice. Albert declares: for the sake of envy and malice. He has calculated that the whole result of socialization would be that the most poorly paid laborer would gain 200 marks a year. So 200 marks' worth of feminine finery, brandy, and beer outweighs the noblest happiness which can fall to the lot of humanity!

October 5, 1993.

Matters steadily pursue their course. The Congress has met again and, as it states, has put the roof on the socialistic structure. After a short debate the last point of dispute has been settled by a sort of compromise. All mothers are to give birth to their children in hospitals, and to remain as long as the infants require nursing. Then the wives will return to their husbands, and the children will be fed, educated, and trained by the State. All children born before January 2, 1994, can remain with their parents, but the latter are entitled to intrust them to the Government for support and education.

So all hope is over. If I have hitherto cherished any doubts, they are at an end. Socialization will be the destruction of the civilized world.

All objections were thoroughly discussed during the debate, and in truth there was no speaker who did not admit the dark side of this arrangement. But the reasons of State conquered. The family has no place in the socialistic Government, and no room can be allowed for interests other than those of the State. If men had

the cowardice to shrink from this last result, they would be forced to remedy the omission later, and then society would be divided into parties. People comforted themselves by saying that men became accustomed to everything, and that the pleasures of life in the new State would make parents forget their grief.

November 10, 1993.

Preparations for the change commenced early this month, that everything may be ready in time. Inventories are being taken, stocks appraised and entered in books. But the belief is that it will be impossible to complete so gigantic a task in so short a period.

November 27, 1993.

A glazier from the city has been at work in my room to-day. He seemed to be very angry about the socialization, and said that the Government would have a great deal of work immediately. No one knew anything about repairs, and as soon as January 2d came all machines and implements would almost need remaking.

December 10, 1993.

I have long been racking my brains to decide what vocation I should choose in the socialistic Government. There will be no teachers in private families, and I have neither the taste nor the skill to teach in a school. My wish is to be of real service, and it seems to me that there is no way in which I can make myself of greater use than by selecting the one against which socialistic society is most prejudiced. I will apply for the position of nurse in a hospital for children.

December 20, 1993.

My desire seems on the eve of fulfilment. Herr

Büchner, an old friend of my father, who for years has been at the head of the Bureau of Statistics, has interested himself in my behalf, and writes to-day that I may consider my appointment in the children's hospital secured.

December 22, 1993.

Albert's excellent recommendations have also proved successful in obtaining a position. He will take charge of a large machine shop on January 2d.

Our wedding must be deferred a short time longer, until we have both worked in our new sphere. I don't know why I dislike to think of my marriage. It seems as though I had lost all pleasure in it. Yet my love is greater than ever.

December 29, 1993.

The Hormanns have had the good-fortune to be allowed to stay in Meiendorf. He is to manage the farm, and she will take charge of the house and the dairy. Changes in their position are reserved for the future. So they will at least be spared the sorrow of leaving the husband's family estate. I am already packing my belongings, and shall set out for Berlin day after to-morrow.

January 10, 1994.

We have now conquered the greatest difficulties of the change. There has been terrible confusion, and many comical stories are told. The most difficult thing was the withdrawal of the money. Nobody would produce his gold pieces, and much coin is said to be buried.

My work hitherto has not been very hard, on account of a lack of the raw material with which I am to labor, as Albert jestingly remarked. I have been principally occupied in the woman's ward, where the number of patients is increasing. Few children under the age of six

have been brought in; even the orphans who are being reared in private houses do not seem to be willingly given up by their foster-parents.

January 24, 1994.

A little band of children has gradually collected. Unnatural mothers have always existed, but the percentage of them within this district of the city is small. Most people would rather make pecuniary sacrifices than part with their children. There is said to be great indignation in certain circles over this ill-success, and there are rumors that plans are forming to render refractory parents more yielding. If this step does not succeed, it will be long ere the desired equality in the socialistic State will be complete.

The department containing children three and four years old has been assigned to me. At first they seemed shy and timid, but I soon won their hearts. First, I let them play some pretty little games; then they sat around me on their stools while I told them the stories of Snowwhite and the Sleeping Beauty. How their eyes sparkled!

February 15, 1994.

Albert and I meet twice a week at the house of Herr Hormann's sister, who lives here. I have leave to go there after the children are in bed. It is my only recreation, but it is enough. Albert always tells with exquisite humor stories of the endless confusion in his shop. Everything goes according to line and rule. If there is an unexpected demand for some material or implement, or any change of plan, it invariably occasions a complete cessation of work, on account of the numerous documents and formalities necessary.

Curious things happen among the workmen, too. Those who have a higher degree of knowledge and skill,

such as the machine-builders, etc., ask that individual tasks shall be drawn by lot in the factory, because all receive the same wages. Nobody wishes to surpass others, but no one shuns falling behind.

March 19, 1994.

There is really nothing in the way of our marriage. We might follow the example of many young people, who hire furnished apartments and then go at once to the civil magistrate. After all, this is the only way, for brides no longer bring an outfit, partly because nothing can be spared from the income, partly because it is burdensome to every one to collect a store of furniture, household utensils, and linen before there is any thought of marriage.

Under present circumstances, I feel no impulse to marry, much as I long to be inseparably united to him. Albert, too, does not speak of it. It seems as though something was gnawing at his heart, oppressing his cheerful nature.

October 10, 1994.

Sorrowful things are of daily occurrence in the woman's ward. Many mothers whose children were born here are sent back to their homes, and this is by no means the easy matter which men suppose. The little ones, it is true, do not understand, and soon forget their mothers, but to the mothers it is the sorest grief which could be imposed upon them.

Many return to the institution at odd moments to see their children, often accompanied by their husbands. But the babies do not remember them, and turn away screaming.

November 27, 1994.

Very sad moments frequently visit me, and when I fix my eyes upon the future everything looks dark.

This evening I took out the album which my parents gave me at my confirmation, and tears filled my eyes as I read my father's beautiful dedication: "Let your ruling principle, dear Louise, be always to act in trying circumstances as your self-respect requires; then you will never be forced to repent."

Can a woman who renounces all the more beautiful duties of marriage respect herself?

It is a desperate situation. I would not be such a woman, yet I cannot think of parting from Albert.

December 10, 1994.

I spent a sorrowful evening yesterday, and a sad night followed. What I have long foreboded and feared has become a certainty. Albert is filled with an unconquerable despondency. Life in this society is shallow and loathsome. How could it be otherwise with a man whose every thought and aspiration rises above the level of mediocrity? There is no room for grand and conspicuous achievements in a society whose highest idea is to keep every man from being compelled to conquer a feeling of envy against his neighbor. In such a sphere everything is petty and limited, and an aspiring, energetic nature feels cramped on all sides. Albert complains of invincible bureaucratic stupidity and phlegm in those above him; of indifference, sloth, and negligence in the workmen. And the worst feature is that there is no way of stimulating the more skilful, talented, and industrious elements. They are reluctant to do their utmost, since the equalization of wages, in a certain sense, puts a premium upon unskilfulness and idleness.

Albert would like to leave the country. But he does not know where to turn; the same evils exist in all civilized lands, and the socialization of society has deprived

him of the means to go to savage regions. But is it possible that fear of want and deprivation deters so energetic a man from departing, when the most powerful of all motives urges him on? Alas, I fear there is something else beneath. Perhaps I am the obstacle.

December 13, 1994.

I cannot shake off the thought. Albert wants to leave this country, but is unwilling to desert me. How gladly I would accompany him, share toil and want! But ought I, a weak woman, to hang upon him like a clog? Should not I paralyze his steps, rob him of his freedom of judgment in the hour of need and peril? Must I not dread being the cause of his ruin?

December 28, 1994.

All is over. My happiness is at an end, and I wish my life was also. We met at Herr Hormann's sister's yesterday, and this was probably the last time I shall embrace him. Albert said a great deal about the annoyances in his factory and the discomfort of the thought that he was condemned to spend his life in work which called forth the exercise of only half his powers; I related many incidents in the children's hospital that were not very cheering, and thus we fell into a mood by no means joyous. Gradually the conversation turned upon a hapless young wife who, unable to endure the separation from her child, which she had left in the hospital, threw herself from a window in a fit of insanity. I mentioned other mournful cases which had occurred in the woman's ward. Albert seemed to be deeply moved. He drew me closer to him, and we sat in silence a long time. "My poor darling," he said, hesitatingly, at last, "these are terrible times for the better natures among the hu-

man race. Would you be the wife of a man who cannot make you the mother of his children?"

I could not look at him, but hid my face on his breast. A dagger seemed to pierce my heart. I could not keep back my tears, and gradually burst into loud sobbing. Albert clasped me in his arms and tried to console me. "We must not decide to-day," he said, after a pause. "Question your heart and tell me the result at some other time."

I could find no words to answer, and my leave of absence was over. Throwing myself into his arms again, I kissed him and rushed from the house.

It was a terrible night. I tossed restlessly on my bed, and my pillow was wet with my tears. Had I known a single spot in the world where there was room for us both, I could not have made the painful resolution. But I had his happiness and my own self-respect to guard, and, as I despaired and struggled, I could discern neither deliverance nor help. When I rose from my couch this morning, weary and worn, my decision was made, and, sitting down, I wrote:

My dear, dear Albert,—Our fate crosses our wishes. How happy I have been in my love for you, and how proud I should have been as your wife! But I will never become a wife in the present meaning of the word.

Let us do what we owe to ourselves! I will not cease to love you, and in my every act your image will be the shining sun of my soul. May favoring fortune enable you to find the goal to which your lofty nature and active mind aspire. This will ever be my highest desire, my most fervent prayer.

Your Louise.

Albert's answer came at twilight.

My darling,—You have spoken as I expected. Is your verdict right? Must this be? My suffering is too keen for me to judge. But all my life it will be my sweetest thought that such a woman has loved me.

Be it as you will. But I can part only from your bodily presence, not from your soul. May God grant you comfort, and angels guard and protect you.

Your Albert.

So the golden dream is over. O God, give me strength and let me not fall into temptation!

January 3, 1995.

Herr Hormann's sister has sent me a briefly-worded invitation to come to her house this evening. What can her object be? Is it possible that Albert— That would be beyond my strength. It would be a risk, an act of presumption. I shall stay at home.

January 4, 1995.

Albert was there. Auguste Hormann came here yesterday and told me so. He is ready to leave the country, but could not resolve to go without a farewell. It was certainly a good inspiration which bade me remain. To bid him farewell forever would have been more than I could bear.

Albert will go as far as Baku by means of his credit card, and hopes to obtain money enough to pay the cost of the rest of the journey by bartering some goods which can be easily transported. He is going into the wide, wide world. His hope is to make his way in the new civilization of Central Asia.

January 5, 1995.

Albert has gone. Be calm, my heart, and do not despair. I feel as if I must get away from this place, as if I could not find work enough to divert my thoughts from my grief. I think that if I were in a hospital, and had the task of relieving the suffering and cheering the despairing, I should find it easier to conquer my own sorrow. Perhaps Herr Büchner can help me to obtain it.

February 1, 1995.

I have been a nurse in the Emperor and Empress Frederick Hospital for a week. The institution bears the name of a great sufferer. What that noble nature had to bear outweighs my own anguish, and its memory must serve to strengthen me. I have assumed the name of Sister Martha, for even my name must not remind me of the joy I have renounced. It was not perfectly easy to enter this new calling. There are many painful and repulsive things connected with it, but I am becoming accustomed to them. Perhaps none of the patients whom I nurse and console suffers so much as I, but it aids me to help them, and my heart finds content in doing so. If I pursue this course to my life's end I shall lay my head to rest with the consciousness that, spite of the woe which society has inflicted upon me, I have not missed my vocation as a woman.

From this point the journal became less coherent, and contained principally matters which were neither associated with my friend's fate, nor with the great question which absorbed my attention. I was deeply moved, and could not divert my thoughts from this

angel in human form and her tragic destiny. The progress of this revolution, as the journal described it, had strongly excited me. How had it chanced that mankind could accept an idea so totally at variance with all the emotions which well so naturally, like a clear, rippling spring, from the mind and heart? How had the delusion of the earth's favored classes succeeded in guiding all the millions in the world into paths which I could no longer doubt would plunge society from the highest degree of civilization into the deepest abyss?

My thoughts and meditations kept me awake a long time; but when at last the god of dreams captured me, wonderfully sweet visions of the past rose before my mind. I saw my boy stretching his arms towards me from his little crib, as he lisped "papa" for the first time, saw him on my knees, watched him merrily playing about or cultivating his mind and heart in some clever game. I saw him, as he grew older, striving for knowledge, and finally entering life—a youth who loved virtue and abhorred vice. And, as the god of dreams conjured these sweet visions before me, I again tasted the most exquisite happiness which had blessed my life.

CHAPTER VII.

A CONVERSATION WITH THE CHANCELLOR.

A FEW days after I received a short note from Herr Büchner. The Chancellor wished to give me verbal instructions on certain matters, and desired me to come to him for a few minutes at seven o'clock in the evening. This summons was by no means disagreeable to my thirst for knowledge, and I reached the Chancellor's precisely at the hour designated.

I found him a tall, slender man, still erect, spite of his seventy years. His face expressed deep earnestness, and his thoughtful brow and thin, sharply-cut features denoted a man of keen intelligence.

"I sent for you, Herr Ost," he began, after offering me a seat by a wave of the hand, "because I desire to discuss certain matters which I consider extremely important. Herr Büchner has informed you of my wish to have an opinion of the present method of agriculture from a man who was a practical farmer at a period of great import to the technical perfection of agriculture, especially in the matter of utilizing scientific investigation. I hear that you lived in the ever memorable decade during which Liebig's magnificent discoveries created a perfect revolution in the farmer's aims."

"Certainly, Your Excellency," I replied; "I was a farmer during that brilliant epoch, and did my part towards inducing my associates to profit by the lessons of science."

Well, this avocation has not since lost its importance to mankind. On the contrary, with the increase of population, the necessity of opening every source whence food can be obtained for these millions grows more imperative. Whether we have reached the climax of our task in this respect is the question over which I often ponder anxiously."

"Your Excellency may be sure that I consider it an infinite advantage to be able, after the lapse of a century, once more to behold the world's work, and estimate the value of the labors and aspirations of my own day by the fruits they have produced. I can have no other thought, however, than that these fruits must be very rich, and that, with all the giant strides of manufactures which I imagine, agriculture keeps pace."

"It does indeed, Herr Ost," he replied. "Since the paths of investigation were opened one discovery has caused another, and with the continual increase of knowledge agriculture has succeeded in augmenting the productions of the soil and combating the hostile influences of nature with greater success. But the anxieties which oppress me do not extend to the prosperity of agriculture in general, but refer solely to the question whether, in our socialistic community, we can bring this noble art to its full efficiency. Urged on by the most important task the new Government has laid on my shoulders, I have toiled to effect this with the utmost zeal. It is now the duty of the State to provide all the pleasures the people desire. But the need of food must be satisfied ere we can devote any powers to the amusements, comforts, and refinements of life, and we can employ for these higher aims of society only that portion of the industrial force which remains after food has been procured."

"I understand that perfectly," I replied, "but I should think that the increased population of the present time must furnish a considerably larger number of persons whose labor can be used in other branches of production than that of procuring food. Experience teaches us that highly civilized nations become richer in proportion to the greater number of inhabitants to the square mile, and this circumstance is readily explained by the fact that employment in manufacturing, the labor which converts raw material into higher forms, is usually more profitable than the toil which produces the raw material and strives with Nature."

"There you are probably right. In a manufacturing nation the density of the population is a source of wealth, and in Germany also riches have increased proportionally to the necessity imposed by the number of its inhabitants to buy food from less populated lands. But I have been troubled for several years by the discovery that a change is occurring in this respect.

"I have devoted all my care to fostering agriculture, and shun no sacrifice which, in the opinion of the Minister of Agriculture, seems to promise an increase of the productions of the soil. All the experimental stations are active, and all the demands made upon me by the organs of the agricultural administration are freely granted. No labor requested by the officials of that department is spared; numbers of masons and carpenters are employed on farm-buildings. The use of agricultural machines has greatly increased since the socialization of society—that is, since the cost of obtaining them need no longer be considered, and their management occupies a considerable portion of our industrial force. The use of artificial manures and strengthening foods has also experienced a remarkable increase, and it is by no means

agreeable to the Government to be obliged to employ a larger number of workmen for their manufacture, and to send a greater supply of manufactured goods to foreign countries for the purchase of raw material.

"I can say, for my satisfaction, that the socialistic State, as well as the figures of the agricultural statistics, show us that the productiveness of the soil has not diminished, but we can prove an increase of products. My fear is that this demand of civilization is too dearly purchased. Though the manufacture of the articles we are obliged to send, in exchange for the importation of meat and bread-stuffs from foreign countries, requires a larger industrial force than in former times, the decrease in the number of human hands available for the manufacture of clothing, and everything which can serve for the pleasure, comfort, and especially the adornment of life, is far too great for me to find any other explanation of it."

"Then, if I understand you correctly, Your Excellency," I answered, "my task is to ascertain the causes which, since the socialization of society, have occasioned an increase in the cost of bread and meat."

"You are quite correct, sir. I wish to understand this matter clearly, as I am striving to make improvements in both directions. I desire, so far as it is possible, to increase the productiveness of agriculture, in order to be relieved from the cost of purchasing so much food; but, at the same time, I would like to reduce the sum of human labor used in obtaining agricultural products to the amount which formerly proved sufficient.

"Have the kindness to realize distinctly how much it will benefit society to gain relief in this respect. The last census, whose results you know, that of 1885, showed a population of—in round numbers—forty-seven mill-

ions, and even at that time the inhabitants required so much more than the land produced that considerable quantities of grain were imported. Now we have one hundred millions—that is, fifty-three millions more, whose whole supply of food must be imported. If we estimate the consumption of grain at only three hundred pounds per head, this will give an increased importation of one hundred and fifty-nine million hundred-weight of breadstuffs alone.

"You are quite right in your statement that this increased population, by industrious work in manufacturing, can produce articles of far greater value than the cost of the food bought in foreign countries, and that society will therefore have a larger number of human hands to use in adorning life. But this belief is based upon the supposition that the amount of labor done will remain the same as before; for any waste of industry leads directly to the diminution of the hands toiling for the adornment of life, and must therefore result in a retrogade movement of society. If you realize that it is only a very small number of human hands which are not working for the imperative needs of food, clothes, and lodgings, but for the refinements, or, I might say, the luxuries of life, you will be able to understand the extent of the danger to society."

The justice of the Chancellor's last remark was very evident to me. In my former life the number of persons engaged in farming exceeded that of those employed in all the branches of manufacturing. At that period the latter had not only to supply the millions of the people with clothing, shoes, household utensils, and workmen's tools, but also to provide agriculture with its machinery, and to produce the goods whose sale in foreign countries brought means to purchase the food not

produced at home. With the increase of population the situation must have become more favorable, in so far as that the relative number of laborers employed in farming had lessened in comparison to the whole industrial force. Still, the number of hands required to supply necessary wants must always preponderate so largely that any decrease in those engaged in producing unnecessary things could not be expressed save by a large percentage, and therefore a considerable diminution must appear in the pleasures and adornments of life. So I felt constrained to assent to the Chancellor's statement and assure him that I would devote my attention specially to discovering the causes of the greater expenditure of the industrial force in farming.

"But there is another thing which inspires doubts concerning the profitableness of the present system of agriculture," the Chancellor continued. "In addition to its principal products—grain, the meat of cattle, sheep, and hogs, milk, butter, and cheese—society has many other kinds of food which in a certain sense are minor productions yet, though so far inferior to the former ones, are indispensable to the people, and represent a by no means inconsiderable value. I will mention eggs, poultry, and honey. Among these, eggs especially are of the utmost importance, for they are very beneficial to the health, useful for various purposes, and have always been considered a very cheap source of albumen. But the production of this important food has greatly diminished, and the same is also true of poultry and bee-keeping. With the utmost effort—and I have had the warmest support from the Minister of Agriculture—we have not succeeded in effecting a change. From the official agricultural circles we receive the statement that the production of eggs, poultry, and honey would be

utterly unprofitable if other sources of revenue from agriculture were given up in their favor, and so we cannot help reproaching ourselves with failure to understand the wants of society in matters of such importance. Complaints of the inadequate supply of eggs trouble me most. So I would wish to direct your attention to this point, Herr Ost. You will render a special service if you can explain the cause of this phenomenon and suggest any means of remedying the evil."

I was utterly amazed by these words, and at first did not know what to answer. During my whole experience as a farmer poultry-raising had been the special pleasure of all country dames, from the titled lady to the day-laborer's wife, and nothing would have been further from my thoughts than to term it a costly and unprofitable branch of production. Bee-keeping, too, had been a source of amusement rather than labor. It had served as a recreation to many persons, occasioned little expense, and returned large profits for a small amount of care. What could be the reason for giving up such remunerative minor productions in the socialistic community on account of a lack of profit?

"I can give no cause at this moment for a phenomenon which seems to me incomprehensible, Your Excellency," I replied, at last, "but it shall be my aim to discover it. The first part of my task appears to me the easier one. Bold as it would be to hazard a positive opinion before I thoroughly understand the present system of agriculture, I might risk the conjecture that one cause of the greater cost of obtaining food is to be found in the circumstance that, with the total want of competition in the socialistic State, work is performed with less energy. From the idea I have hitherto been able to form of the prosperity of the socialistic produc-

tion, I should be inclined to believe that the difficulty the Government has in keeping the amusements of society at the same height is partly due to a diminution of the stimulus to labor."

"You are right," said the Chancellor; "it is an undeniable fact that work is no longer performed with the same zeal, and whoever understands human nature will comprehend the cause."

"Then the first task is to seek means of correcting this evil. And, if we could succeed in awaking zeal in the laborers, the hope of maintaining civilized society in a state of prosperous development would not be utterly lost."

"That was my hope, too, Herr Ost. It was a faint one, but I had it, and so long as even a glimmer remained the anxiety which oppressed me was comparatively light. True, it was difficult to keep society at the level of wealth it had attained because, with the failing energy in work, we lacked hands. Had this been the sole evil it might perhaps have been conquered by the increasing knowledge of men. But, unnoticed and invisible, another peril was rising which now appears in more distinct outlines, and whose increasing power no human nor divine might can stay."

The Chancellor paused a moment, and a gloomy shadow rested on his thoughtful face. Then, laying a strong emphasis on every word, he slowly continued:

"The socialistic Government will not go to destruction because it lacks human hands to labor, but because it lacks labor for the human hands."

These were words of terrible import. Want of profitable employment had been the source of all the troubles of the lower classes in former days. With the increase of social prosperity in the course of the centuries, this

difficulty had lessened, and the immense growth of capital, apparently the inexorable foe of the laboring classes, had created competition in its search for labor, and, with its growth, had become the life-giving sun beneath whose fertilizing rays the laborer could improve his situation and free himself from his dependent position. Lack of employment had not ceased to be a sore evil, for irregular currents caused constant disturbances, which occasioned distress and want, now here, now there, and to rid the world of this evil had been one of the motives for establishing the socialistic State. Socialized society, it was supposed, would keep all its members employed. Had the expectation been a mistaken one in this respect? Had the socialization of labor become a source of want of occupation?

As on the afternoon when the purchase of a few necessary articles afforded me some glimpses of modern social life, a vague foreboding rose before me that the levelling of wants must be an unfavorable sign of the prosperity of the new society. But, again, I was unable to form any clear idea of cause and effect. My eyes rested eagerly on the Chancellor's lips. After a short pause he continued his explanations.

"You are a practical man, Herr Ost, and as such must have already become aware that, with the socialization of society, certain changes in the manner of production must have taken place. The extremely luxurious wants of the rich could not fail to cease as soon as wealth disappeared and the sum of production was divided into equal parts as the common property of humanity. The result of this was that all those objects of luxury which could be purchased only by people whose incomes were above the average could no longer be manufactured, and the hands formerly engaged in making them were neces-

sarily employed in creating such useful articles as would now be universally wanted by all whose incomes had formerly been *less* than the average one.

"Complete equality has not been secured, for the manufacture of a large portion of these articles of luxury whose production became limited required far more labor than that of making the less valuable ones which took their places. Or, to put it more clearly: if, for instance, the production for home consumption of costly works of art, china, glass, wood-carving, etc., ceased, and a great number of personal services, always in demand in the houses of the rich, were abolished, while, on the other hand, a much greater quantity of clothes, shoes, the better kinds of food, or articles of ornament whose manufacture required less skill, were produced, a large share of human labor would be released because, even if the total value of the production remained unchanged, a greater amount of machinery could be employed in the latter than in the former.

"But even admitting that we should thus have had a superabundance of working force," the Chancellor went on, "this is not so in reality, because we have lost more in the decrease of labor performed than could be gained in the other direction—it would scarcely cause any tangible evil. Other arrangements for the use of men—for instance, laying out public parks, establishing pleasure grounds, improving dwellings, etc.—would supply occupation, and I really incline to the belief that, if other troubles were not gnawing at the root of the socialistic Government, this decrease in the number of wants would not have made it impossible for us to maintain a permanent balance between production and consumption."

"But our German empire is not the only country in which this decrease of wants made itself felt. The so-

cialistic mode of production, and with it this evil, became naturalized simultaneously in all other civilized countries, and as a result the latter assumed proportions which made it appear a serious future peril. In the first place difficulties confront us from the fact that we no longer find the same number of refined wants in the agricultural countries. We have to depend upon them for our supplies of food, and our manufactured articles must serve as a means of exchange for their purchase. All the other manufacturing countries in the world are in the same position. For them, too, exportation is the condition of existence, the means of procuring the importation of food. So long as the number of articles wanted was unlimited and varied, it was not difficult for the manufacturing countries to obtain, by a large exportation, an abundant supply of provisions. One nation found one branch of manufactures an exhaustless source of revenue, another another, according to the skill and talents of the people. Since, with the socialization of society, wants in all countries have grown simpler, the market is everywhere closed against all costly products, and all manufacturing nations find themselves compelled to devote their attention to the articles which will supply simpler needs. But, as I have already said, these are the very things whose manufacture requires less skill and fewer hands. This renders the sale of goods more difficult. On the one hand, the agricultural countries succeeded in making larger quantities of the less difficult articles themselves, thereby becoming less dependent on foreign lands, and, on the other hand, owing to the decrease in the demand, greater competition arose among the manufacturing countries, which lessened the value of their exports.

"All threw upon the market a larger number of the

less costly wares. But, great as may be the charm of purchasing at reduced prices a larger number of clothes and shoes, or simpler articles of jewelry or ornament, there is a limit to it, and whatever is produced beyond hopelessly declines in value. You will understand how great a danger confronts us. The extensibility of wants was the motive power of civilization in the material as well as in the intellectual world. If this is abolished the material prosperity of mankind, and with it civilization, will be imperilled. All life in the world pulses solely by extension and growth; from the moment that growth ceases, all creatures tend towards their end."

The Chancellor paused and gazed thoughtfully into vacancy. But I could not yet clearly understand why this state of affairs should be so threatening. That the extensibility of wants is the real lever of all progress in civilization I did not doubt, and that the advance of civilization encounters an obstacle when the number of wants becomes restricted was as clear as possible. Yet only the quality, not the quantity, of wants had lessened, and so I could not perceive why the production of manufacturing countries should be exposed to serious danger, so long as the consumption remained the same *according to its value*. But, so far as I could learn, hitherto this had been the case. If the people who had formerly been richer now spent less for manufactured articles, those who had been poorer, in consequence of equalization, now spent more, and, if the equal division of the revenue had resulted in the production of an equal quantity of useful articles by the increased aid of machinery, with a smaller number of human hands, this, it seemed to me, could be only an advantage, not an injury. If industrial power is thus set free, society can only reap

the advantage of either shortening the hours of labor, or increasing wants by the enlargement of production.

"I myself have had misgivings about the loss of so many wants," I replied. "But I cannot deny that my reflections always lead me to the conclusion that, though this circumstance may be an obstacle to the progress of society, it cannot seriously endanger its existence. If, in consequence of equalization, the object of labor, the satisfaction of wants, can be accomplished in an easier and less wearisome fashion—in so far as this is done by less effort of human hands—this ought to be simply a source of gratification, and the competition of manufacturing countries in exporting their wares must, it seems to me, again guide production into the right channels."

"Regarding the matter in a purely theoretical manner, you may be right, Herr Ost. But an insight into the practical working of it leads to a different conclusion. The exportation of manufactured articles and the importation of food is not a direct exchange of wares; the barter requires a more circuitous method. For instance, the greater part of our grain is obtained from Russia, while Russia herself receives from us only wares of much less value. Our manufactured articles go into all the countries of the globe, and settlement is made with endless circumlocution.

"These circuits are so great that we have already been obliged to make treaties with other Governments, in order to again introduce metal as a means of exchange in international trade. If you will keep in view three points: first, that it is not easy, under such circumstances, to find a sale for manufactured articles, and that the difficulties connected with it are felt in production or rather by the Government which directs it; secondly, that the decrease of wants has been not

only in quality but in quantity, because the agricultural countries have succeeded in making more and more of the useful artjeles whose manufacture demands less skill; and, thirdly, that every increase in the difficulty of selling the products of manufactures means an increase of difficulty in buying food—that is, the vital spark of the nation is threatened when we find no adequate market for the products of our factories. If you keep these three points in view, you will not fail to see the dangers to which socialized society is exposed."

"The final goal of social democracy, Your Excellency, has inspired misgivings in my mind from the first moment I became familiar with it, and I am far from underrating the difficulties you point out. Undoubtedly the socialistic ideal is a paradox which contradicts sound sense, and whose realization cannot be beneficial to the human race. This is a conjecture I have had from the beginning, and have found many phenomena to confirm.

"Only I cannot fully understand why, as you just said, there is in prospect a lack of profitable employment, which will prove the destruction of mankind. The dark sides I see appear to me to lead to ruin indirectly rather than directly. I do not doubt that, in view of the utter unnaturalness of the circumstances, any further progress of society is an impossibility, and, according to the course of events, stagnation contains the germ of decay. But I cannot fully comprehend the inexorable nature of the phenomena which must lead society to a speedy downfall."

"This inexorability lies in the nature of the trade—the fluctuations to which it is exposed. Just imagine the occurrence of events which would render a considerable portion of our products unsaleable, and our dense population would be exposed to famine."

"Yet society formerly was often overtaken by such crises, and always succeeded in repairing its injuries. Ought not socialized society to have strength to recover itself by means of increased exertion, enlarged production?"

"The society of former days had capital in reserve for such crises; socialized society has not. The private capital, to which social democracy was so hostile, could become the salvation of that society; the present social system has dropped this sole means of deliverance from its grasp."

"But socialized society possesses a common capital. The machines, the implements of labor, the houses and manufactories, the railroads and ships, the land and all the stores are at its disposal, and can be used according to its best judgment."

"There you probably overlook the distinction between the socialistic and the natural method of production. So long as capital was in private hands, it was purchasable, and, besides its worth as an implement of labor, had a commercial value.

"By bonds and similar certificates the capital—lands and buildings, workshops and stocks of goods—could be divided into portions, and by placing these papers in a bank, money could be obtained for payments by which the most pressing wants were relieved and the stranded ship was again set afloat. In such cases capital became, in a certain sense, the equivalent of stores garnered for days of need. At such times of want society lived on its possessions. How different is the situation in the socialized world! It cannot dispose of a single piece of property which might serve to relieve a want. Even if it dealt itself a death-blow and wished to return the capital to private hands, there would not be in all civ-

ilized society a single man who could buy a machine or a ship."

This was undoubtedly true and undeniable, and I remarked that I was beginning to understand the situation.

"I comprehend this disadvantage of the socialistic community," I observed; "but it has at its disposal the myriads of human hands which it need only set to work to produce everything the human race lacks. Clearly as I perceive all the dark sides of socialization, the impossibility of employing the laboring force in such cases is not so apparent.

"The impossibility springs from the same causes which, in all hard times, were the source of trouble. Why could the cabinet-maker, cobbler, smith, find no employment in seasons of poverty? Because they had no wood, no leather, no iron which they could manufacture. Why have so many laborers in every age vainly sought for work? Because society was too poor to feel actual need of the articles which they could manufacture. Why have the ships, railroads, transportation companies, found no adequate employment during periods of stagnation in trade? Because there was a disproportion between production and consumption, so that there were too few buyers to warrant the same shipment of goods.

"All these causes will unite as soon as there are any serious interruptions to the sale of our manufactured products, and they will have the same result in the socialized world as the want of work had under former circumstances. The only distinction will be that private enterprise could raise itself after the fall, socialized society will sink into hopeless poverty."

"Has the lack of sale of productions made itself seriously felt?"

"We have had difficulties enough, but actual failure of sales has not yet occurred. It was, I might say, a blessing that, since this revolution, our old civilization began to flow back to the East whence it came. An excellent market for us has opened in the boundless plains of Central Asia. Much capital, fearing socialization, has sought refuge there, and many a talented man for whom the socialistic State was too narrow has there found a field of labor. So we have always succeeded in supplying the people with bread and meat. Just now the Central Asians are busily engaged in building railroads, and our mines and factories are doing their utmost to supply the immense demand. It is the same in England, Belgium, Sweden, and Russia. If the railroad building there would continue, and the briskness of trade lead to increasing prosperity, our society might feel secure. Unfortunately"—and the Chancellor's features again grew serious—"I have recently received repeated unfavorable reports. There are disturbances everywhere which threaten war and rebellion. This might become a terrible blow to us.

"But away with these anxieties for the present," he added, rising. "We must quietly await what may happen. But now you will doubtless understand why I feel so strong a desire to use the closest economy in the expenditure of our strength. We must all do our duty, and I expect this from you, Herr Ost. I wish you much pleasure from your journey and a favorable result for myself."

This closed the interview, and I took my leave. This had been another important day—I might say the most important and significant of all the days I had lived in the new world. Slight as my hopes had been, the disappointment was greater than I had supposed possible.

The newspapers I had read, my conversation with Herr Büchner, Sister Martha's journal, my personal observations, all made me recognize the socialization of society to be a stupendous folly. To-day I learned from the Chancellor's explanations far more. How could a doubt of his words have lingered in my mind? This society of the social democratic State, which was to be such a model of happiness and wealth, of virtue and morality, is living on the crater of a volcano which may burst forth at any moment, pouring want and misery over it in its streams of ashes.

Yet how submissive to deception is the world! How ready men are to listen to the false and the doubtful! Poor mortals, I thought, ever since you inhabited the earth you have been unable to refrain from disturbing, by your superstition and thoughtlessness, that wonderful, mysterious impulse which Mother Nature has endowed with such indestructible vitality. For centuries you have imagined that you were aiding her supreme wisdom by making the rich and happy of the world your favorites, giving them privileges, and trying to throw treasures into their laps at the expense of the poor. You have thus sowed dissension and malice until your partiality became unbearable, and the majority among you sought peace in a different order of affairs. You escaped one evil to throw yourselves into the arms of another. Could you never find the golden mean and give to all, without distinction, equal justice, equal love, and equal freedom of movement?

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THE WORLD LOOKED.

IT was early in December when I began my journey. I did not set forth with the cheerful feelings which had filled my heart when I received my first commission. I had already had too many experiences which had changed my mood to one of depression and hopelessness. Nevertheless, I had not lost an iota of real interest in the matter. What results had proceeded from socialization in relation to business, how the claims of the Government and of the individual in the various circles of society had been reconciled, what changes in views and customs had occurred, and what degree of satisfaction was felt in all quarters — to behold these things with my own eyes afforded as attractive a prospect as ever.

My decision was not made easier by having the time of my departure occur at a period which was not without its influence upon the mood of men. New credit cards were issued the first of January, and it seemed as though, after this important act, I found the expression of the faces more cheerful and self-reliant. During January I found opinions leaning more towards the optimistic side, while previously pessimism had obviously prevailed. It was a change such as we have often witnessed when the sun shines after dull, rainy days.

If I had not already found myself in a state of disen-

chantment I could not have helped wondering that not a single incident reminded me that I was in Mr. Bellamy's Utopia. The world had certainly grown richer and fairer. Everywhere I beheld the plainest signs that people had labored assiduously for reformation, refinement, beauty. But the human race itself had remained unaltered. It possessed all the qualities needed for an imperfect world, nothing which suited a Utopia. I read in the faces of the people no other happiness than that which can be obtained under imperfect conditions, and no other satisfaction than that arising from the joys of life, not one of which is without alloy. There was the same grumbling and fault-finding, the same natural inclination to preach rather than to practice.

This is finding no fault with my present countrymen. It would be unjust to expect that their thoughts and feelings should rise above their environments, for circumstances are the soil from which our intellectual life derives its sustenance, its coloring. When I compared the life of the modern world with that of the former one, could I censure them for having retained the old proneness to criticism and fault-finding? So far as I could compare past incidents in my memory, men were always most ready with their censure in cases where the Government was the producer. No matter how sincere might be the intentions of the Government, it could not escape the difficulty of finding suitable instruments for its work. Many able and well-trained men preferred to use their powers freely and independently for their own benefit, or modestly held back because virtue is associated with virtue, as like seeks like. Applicants who pressed forward often cared more for obtaining a good salary than for performing good work. They were reluctant to give up a lucrative office and numerous fees,

but lack of work usually caused them little grief. They endeavored to make up for want of knowledge by assumption and arrogance, and liked to believe in the old saw that God gave, with the office, the ability to perform its duties. So it was no wonder that much of the work done by the Government bore the impress of stupidity, and if men had fallen into the habit of viewing its labors with doubtful eyes, it arose from the perception that shallowness and incompetency lacked the stimulus of competition which, in the old social system, forced every one to the exertion of the utmost zeal. If in the old world criticism and fault-finding had not been wholly unjustifiable—and how often men had raved against the tendency to absorption by the State—how much more cause existed in this socialistic Government, which was the sole manufacturer and manager. So I could not wonder that wherever I went I found the invincible disposition to carp, that criticism was the principal topic of conversation. I no longer heard the weather discussed, and the ill-doings of servants were not mentioned, from the circumstance that the youthful members of the population were not permitted to seek employment of their own free choice and use their own powers. The increasing mismanagement of the Government was an unfailing source of comment. If a man's watch was returned without being thoroughly repaired, the rascally Government was of course to blame. If a pair of boots had crooked heels, it was said that the Government could not even make a pair of boots. Let the Government do what it would, it could never escape censure, and if I may venture to express my opinion frankly, it was certainly made very difficult for it to give much cause for praise.

But, as in everything else, I found differences. In

some districts there was more complaint, in others less, and there was also more occasion for it in some places than in others. Things were exactly what they were in former days. One official was more competent than another. One man, in choosing his assistants, placed most value upon character and moral qualities, another desired pliability and absence of will. Even where officials were elected, there were gradations in the ability of the chiefs. At one election capable men, at another, braggarts obtained the majority.

But apart from the fact that managers did not everywhere give the same cause for complaint, there were various reasons in different parts of the country which led to distinctions in the degree of dissatisfaction. In general, I could perceive that society, in the course of years had passed, as I had done within a few weeks, from the first glow of elation to a state of depression. Those who had been most enthusiastic kept a sullen silence, but among those who had not been champions of socialism there was scarcely one who did not openly revile socialization. Opinions, however, varied in sharpness, according to the degree of loss made by the exchange.

If there were any lives which might have been considered to have gained by the revolution, they were the young people from twenty-one to twenty-four, who, having passed the period of study, at once entered upon the full enjoyment of existence. They were no longer compelled to seek a means of livelihood, no longer obliged to battle with difficulties for a position in life; position and pay were at once bestowed upon them. When I recalled the numerous trials with which in former times young people had to contend, a feeling of joyous sympathy often stirred my heart when I saw a young man or a young girl. They were freed from all the disagreeable

tokens of want of consideration with which those who had attained a secure position in life formerly favored them. I was especially glad to see that young girls were no longer obliged, as so-called apprentices, to undertake all possible and impossible things, and consider themselves fortunate if they were not compelled to pay a fee for instruction. But though the new society offered them by comparison such great advantages, I did not find contentment, and yet could not reproach them for dissatisfaction. They liked to call themselves the pariahs of society, for the most difficult tasks and the most unpleasant duties were made over to them. Their elders held the lesson-book, and were amiable enough not to withhold a good training for life. And the sorest point was that thoughts of the future could afford them no compensation for the present. The hopes and plans which swell the hearts of the young, the happy anticipation of a home, a property, a business of their own, which helped so many over present trials, were totally abolished by the socialistic Government. There was nothing for ambition to seek, nothing to expect from the future except what lay plain and clear before them: the life of an animal whose days are divided between work and the manger. But did not this show shameful ingratitude? Did not the socialistic State afford them plenty of amusement? Did it not give playing and jesting, music and acting, pantomime and dancing? Had not Bebel's solicitude removed every barrier to their wishes? But what can afford compensation to a young heart whose noblest impulses are fettered, and which therefore feels a void no sensual pleasures can fill?

A second class who apparently must have gained by the exchange were all the older workmen, whose income

had been increased by the equal distribution. I had expected to find them content; but here, too, I found myself mistaken. What they had gained was far below their anticipations. People had again calculated according to appearances and kept their pencils in their pockets. They had forgotten that glitter dazzles and appearances deceive; that large sums, divided by large sums, give but small quotients. If, instead of judging by the eyesight, they had reckoned with figures—and figures were not inaccessible to them—they would have perceived that their gain would be so small that every crisis, every fluctuation, every diminution in production, would lose it again. True, equalization had bestowed a larger sum than would have been the case a century before, because wealth and capital had increased; but this increasing wealth had occasioned an increasing demand for work, and this increasing demand had raised wages. Had socialization occurred a century before, every workman would have received a much smaller income than he earned as his daily wages before the change. And if the old order of things had remained until the present time, daily wages, in a few decades, would have exceeded the average modern income. Now, working-men have not only made any improvement in their condition impossible, but they have rendered their position worse in the exact proportion that the diminution of socialistic production, the mistakes of the Government, the lessening of the stimulus to labor, the deterioration of goods —apart from all perils to society—restricted the number of their pleasures. And all this was purchased at the cost of personal liberty. Man in the socialistic State has become a slave. Though society alone is ruler he is still a slave, because he has no free will, free decision, free movement. Every worm that creeps upon the earth

is a higher creature than he, for whether it turns to the right or to the left its own will directs its movements. Whether all laboring men understand their barter I cannot say, and am yet in doubt. But in many instances I could see that they had become aware of the bad bargain they had made, and that a vague suspicion had arisen in the minds of the great majority. So it was perfectly natural that, in these circles also, I found no unmixed pleasure.

With the exception of the laboring class formerly most poorly paid and the young people just entering upon an active career, there was not a soul in this brilliantly described Castle of Indolence who had not lost, in addition to liberty and independence, many beautiful pleasures. There was undoubtedly a minority, who might have been the happiest of all if they could have had the comfort of knowing that their sacrifices had purchased peace and happiness for mankind. But where was happiness, where was peace in this world? The feeling of happiness cannot pervade a soul which is not filled with the consciousness that it guides its own destiny, and peace cannot dwell in a breast whose strongest impulses, the use of the will, the desire for gain, the strife for property, are fettered.

How different were the people described by Mr. Bellamy! Envy was to have vanished with property! But those who did not manage their incomes economically envied others who did. Those who squandered their substance in amusements envied the steady, sensible people who knew how to maintain a comfortable home. Political and religious dissension was to have ceased! But everybody was at war with a Government which had an impossible task to perform, and with the abolition of all aspiration, with release from anxiety,

and the extinction of all individual interests, the inclination to religious investigation had awakened in many minds, and with the unconquerable desire to seek something to fill the deep void in the soul, the old tendency to sectarianism began to spread. This very Utopia had become a hot-bed of religious hatred and intolerance. So there was no cause to wonder that I found no trace of satisfaction and joy. And little as the void existing in every heart gave rise to these feelings, the confusion everywhere existing afforded still less occasion for them. In this respect also no deception was possible, since I had so many proofs that Mr. Bellamy did not stick closely to facts. That with the immense diversity with which all the useful treasures of the world are scattered over the earth according to the variations of soil and climate; with the infinite multiplicity of objects whose enjoyment constitutes the existence of civilized life; with the incredible number of arrangements which are necessary in order to obtain all these things at the right time—that this whole sum of labor, whose extent almost exceeds the power or imagination, should be directed and managed by mere human foresight and human ability from a single place was so foolish that I could not help being amazed that I had cherished a single doubt concerning the fact for an instant. The business intercourse of society, as it existed before the interference of social democracy, was a creation of far too much magnitude not to reveal the ruling hand of a higher power, and if human intelligence deemed itself wise enough to regulate this mysterious movement like a clock or a machine, it only showed that innate arrogant ignorance which neither angel nor God can illumine.

The real marvel in the mechanism of the former social system consisted in the fact that a vast multitude

of laborers, scattered over the whole earth, not one of whom was consciously pursuing any other aim than that of satisfying his own needs, nevertheless in a certain sense formed a whole, that in every quarter of the globe a table was spread for men, from which they could choose according to their taste, so far as they had the means to purchase. Every task was the work of an individual will, but no will considered any other object than a purely personal one. Yet this multiplication of apparently independent tasks produced, as a total result, the ability to purchase in the South the products of the North, and in the North what the sun of the South had created; that where men had thronged in far greater numbers than the soil could feed, a sufficient supply of provisions was attainable; that in the incessant circulation, the production and use, the buying and selling, new powers were produced in the form of capital, by which, in the same way, the productions of labor and the purchasing ability of men constantly increased.

To make these individual tasks of men the common work of the human race, Nature had used special means. She had implanted in their hearts the love of prosperity and the desire for gain. She had awakened in every one the disposition to strive to obtain a high price for his own wares, while he secured those of others at a low one; and, by creating a strife between buyers and sellers, had caused the relation of supply and demand to so fix the value of work that labor should go where its value was highest; that, obeying in a certain sense the law of gravity, productions went where there was a deficiency, and shunned the places where there was superabundance. And at the same time she had made men accustomed to use, in buying and selling, money

as a tool which rendered every exchange of their productions possible.

But society was still in the process of growing. It had sprung from small seeds, and its increase was beset with difficulties. Men had interfered with Mother Nature's work by war and destruction, by the restriction of the rights of property, by fettering the impulse of gain, by obstructions in the interchange of commodities, and their folly rendered it impossible for her, in thousands of years, to provide all with sufficient purchasing power. At first few were rich; yet spite of all the interruptions of folly, the number of those who were prosperous continually increased, and this rapid growth showed that the future of society would develop still more happily. But envy and malice dimmed the eyes of men, and would not let them perceive that the wealth of individuals contained the condition of diffusing prosperity elsewhere, and wealth itself, according to the fate of all things earthly, was subject to the process of gradual growth. It roused their displeasure to see the minority fare better than the majority, and they resolved to transform at one blow this growing society into a completed one.

And how have men endeavored to attain this? By a very summary process. They have thrust Mother Nature from her throne and put social democracy in her exalted seat. The law of value, that is, has been flung into the waste-paper basket, the tool of traffic has been walled up in vaults, and love of property and desire for gain have been withdrawn from men. From this time forth the sole ruler was human intelligence, which disdained such wretched aid.

Will the reader believe that I did not find socialized society in a condition of perfection? That human in-

tellect on the throne of Nature was not free from error? In truth, many things were going wrong. Articles people desired to buy were frequently not to be found, and those they did find did not always suit their tastes. Things whose manufacture required accuracy were often very tolerable, except that the work lacked precision. Perishable articles frequently showed plainly that they had been originally of excellent quality, and would still be if they had received proper treatment. Where meat was wanted it frequently could not be had, and where it was not desired there was a superabundance.

But I needed only to look around the workshops to convince myself that it would have been impossible for even the most capable management, endowed with the gift of omniscience, to have everything in the right proportion, the right quality, and at the right place. The organization of the work was probably faultless. The strictest regulations determined the intercourse of officials, and the closest watch was maintained to insure that every one kept within the limits assigned and that no one exceeded his powers. But the fact that it was necessary to create such an organization, that each individual official had to follow, not the inspiration of the moment, but the regulations imposed upon him, that a fixed rule governed every occurrence, often occasioned disturbances which were out of harmony with the nature of the production.

I found the manufactories the best organized of all business pursuits. Government control is better adapted to this sphere of labor than to any other. Here machinery, with its regularity, is the guiding power, and the whole work has to undergo the fewest interruptions. But here, too, the equality of compensation was an unconquerable evil influence in the quality and ex-

tent of the work. Though a manufactory can be kept running with comparative ease, its products are first of all dependent upon the mental powers, which have a by no means easy and very responsible task in selecting the fabrics to be made, securing the raw material, and directing the labor. To manage the laboring force satisfactorily had not always been easy, even during the former method of production. An effort was made to secure workmen by associating their personal interest with the prosperity of the business. But personal interests had no existence in the socialistic State, and it seemed only natural that superintendents and minor officials who, spite of their wider range of work, were on precisely the same footing as the rest of the men, should not take the responsibility in the most careful way, or exert their powers to the utmost. This evil was most apparent in the machine shops, where the utility of the articles manufactured most largely depends upon the mental power of the manager. Here the detriment was most visible, and I often had an opportunity to see and hear that machines of all kinds had greatly deteriorated in lightness of running and in development of power.

But manufacturing is only a small portion of the whole department of labor. Every other kind of industry lacks the regularity with which machinery carries on the course of work, and therefore is much less suited to be directed from a certain place according to universal rules. All personal services, the whole transportation of materials and products, all special arrangements of work which are dependent upon the transportation of goods, such as loading and unloading, delivering, storing, and keeping, cannot be regulated by orders issued, but must be governed by the needs which arise. To force them all into the mould of a normal

working-day could be planned only by persons ignorant of their nature and purpose. Therefore, I could feel no surprise at finding in every such department of work the most incredible confusion. All economy in utilizing power was lacking. There was an extravagant expenditure of time and labor, which made the Chancellor's statement that the combined industry of the human race no longer afforded the same amount of pleasure only too intelligible.

But the farming! This was the department of industry specially recommended to my notice. Why had Mr. Bellamy skipped over this remarkably important branch of production with such incredible ease? Evidently because he knew nothing about farming and had no idea of the difficulties with which it has to contend, or to what degree the variety of circumstances and the frequency of disturbances prevent the regularity without which fixed rules cannot be obeyed.

I do not deny that I have seen little to commend during my expeditions. Everywhere the effort was being made to consolidate small enterprises into large ones, and to establish in large ones the rules of theory and science. Why should not this be done? Even in former days the larger extents of country were farmed from a central point. Even in former days the management of estates had sometimes been confided to a person who was neither the owner nor the tenant, but who found in the sense of duty the motive power of industry.

And such management had often been admirable and brought to the idle owners a large revenue. But only a small portion of the cultivated plains of our native country were farmed on a large scale; of this small portion few estates were managed by stewards, and fewer still brought in a net profit. The great majority were

under the master's own eye, and self-interest had dictated the management, improvements, and economies. Self-interest had stimulated the owner to adapt powers and faculties to the qualities of the soil. What was more natural than that I should not find in socialistic agriculture that minute care in the expenditure of strength and the use of means which self-interest had formerly commanded?

As I have said, I found much that was good in the agricultural system. There were many capable men among the managing officials, and most of them endeavored to distinguish themselves by excellent work. Their position depended upon this, for none of them would have liked to be degraded to the rank of a laborer. To produce the largest quantities of grain, to send a great deal of milk or butter to the markets, to furnish the butchers with the finest fatted cattle, was the ambition I found everywhere, and my examination of account-books convinced me that the land produced as much as could be expected, taking into consideration the quality of the soil, the climate, and the weather. But the business was made very easy for the managers because none of them had to contend with any difficulties in obtaining help. No one had a penny to expend for wages, manure, machines, agricultural implements, etc. The source which had to provide for everything gave them what they required. Whether the revenue equalled the expenditures was no concern of theirs. There was only a rough estimate of receipts, no net profits, and no one was in a position to calculate whether an estimate of receipts and expenditures would show a balance which could be considered as a profit on the enterprise.

I, too, found it impossible to make a calculation of the gain derived from agriculture. I could see in the books

how many bushels of grain, how much milk and butter, how many cattle had been delivered; I could learn how many days' labor had been expended, and what amount of raw material, machines, etc., had been used; but I lacked data by which to estimate values. I could calculate from the credit cards the value of a day's labor, but to fix the value of everything used in agriculture would scarcely have been possible. These things did not enter into the account, and had an attempt been made to ascertain the price, according to the work spent upon them, agriculture would have fared too well or too ill—too well, in so far as that the help of capital could not be estimated; too ill, in so far as that labor under the socialistic method was by no means too energetically carried on.

"Farming is a special affair now," said one manager, who was not over-scrupulous. "It is hard or easy, according to our way of taking it. Hard, because we are subjected to constant control; easy, because we don't have to inquire about the expenses. Any manager would be a simpleton who permitted the Board of Inspectors to find anything which resembled disorder and afforded occasion for censure in the report. True, these gentlemen fare badly in this respect, for if they find nothing amiss to report, their superiors think they did not keep their eyes open. But, thank Heaven, we can arrange to have the necessary number of laborers at any moment, and need not rack our brains about getting time for less important matters. We provide ourselves with so large a force of laborers for every season that we can never have any lack."

"But you must often be troubled to find occupation for all these hands."

"The workmen relieve us of that difficulty. We find

no fault if they spare their strength in less hurried times, and they soon perceive that we are glad if they don't over-fatigue themselves. Nor is it difficult for us to keep our lands in good condition. Niggardliness in teams would be great folly, and too lavish use of corn—which would be unwise, because it would lessen the amount of the supply of grain on which our reputation depends—we avoid by using artificial food. We never trouble ourselves about horses, machines, or agricultural implements which have any trifling defect. They are simply rejected and replaced with new ones. The cattle kept for breeding are the very best—the Government must furnish them—and we pour out all the money we can get hold of on chemical fertilizers. Such farming is interesting, but one must ponder over it. The rule is: Don't let your neighbors outdo you in production."

Aye, such a system of farming may well be interesting. I was not so fortunately situated when, in my young days, I managed an estate, and it was still less easy when I conducted my farming with my own capital. I was forced to accommodate myself to circumstances, and should have fared badly had I not directed all my skill and care to making receipts and expenses balance. It was very evident that such a system of management could not fail to awaken the Chancellor's anxiety, and I did not need to ponder concerning the reason that farming absorbed so much of the industrial force. Lack of economy, waste of time, and waste of material were the reasons that production and receipts stood in unhealthy relations. But it was not so easy a matter to find the remedy.

Within a few weeks my second task was also completed, and I could only wonder that the solution of the riddle had not occurred to me at once. "Many a one

has mickle care to raise a flock of poultry rare," runs an old song. But where were the "many" who could undertake this care? More than five million farms had been given up. The majority of these had had their own poultry-yards, and, besides, there were countless places outside of the farming districts where "mickle care" had been devoted to raising poultry. The little farms had been consolidated into large ones, and each had its poultry-yard. But the number of the flocks of poultry was everywhere regulated by the size of the poultry-yards, and the latter could not possibly contain a tithe of the hens, ducks, geese, etc., which had formerly been raised on the multitude of small farms. Yet it was not possible to raise poultry without spacious poultry-yards, because they must have room to move about, and do not thrive in constant confinement.

There had been some discussion concerning the feasibility of devoting large tracts of land to poultry raising, but the nature of hens and the value of the soil for producing crops were obstacles. Successful as man has been in taming poultry, it has been impossible to overcome certain traits of wilfulness. They do not only need space in which to move, but also room to peck grass, scratch, and hunt for worms, and these things, which are absolutely necessary for their welfare, require an amount of space which, if devoted to any kind of grain, would yield far more profit than all the eggs a hen can lay during the year. The latter, moreover, requires care and no small amount of food.

So it was a perfectly natural consequence of the appropriation of the land by the Government that a by no means inconsiderable branch of production had dwindled to a very insignificant one. No doubt a substitute for the meat of poultry could be obtained, but not for the

egg, and the egg is of the utmost importance in the food of the population.

There had never been any statistics in former times concerning the production of eggs, but people can scarcely be mistaken in estimating their value at hundreds of millions. And these large sums, moreover, were obtained in a certain sense without labor, for the labor of caring for poultry was not taken into account. There was no regular day's work about it, and whoever undertook the business did so for the sake of the profit, and without fear of the toil.

The absorption of production by the Government was also the cause of the loss of honey. This, too, represented a considerable value, was useful for many purposes, and could be obtained in large quantities, because there was no lack of persons to whom a profitable employment of time was not undesirable, and who certainly did not relinquish with pleasure an avocation which yielded them a profit in addition to their regular calling.

How large a laboring force had been taken from the human race by the appropriation of the land! In all these millions of small farming industries a great deal of work had been done which, in a certain sense, was additional. The great number of persons who lived by supplying cartage devoted their land to the purpose of raising food and grain, and took no notice of the labor which it cost them. The work was done, as it were, during unoccupied time, or night was sometimes turned into day. These people had more interest in carrying on their farming than in the far-famed blessings of the normal day's work. Their farming was a source of profit, and the labor which created the profit was a source of pleasure. And how many people who worked for daily wages had their little farms, which gave them much additional

support, and were tilled in leisure hours or by their wives and children. They found happiness and contentment in them, and the simplicity of their mode of life, the healthfulness of the occupation, were refreshing to mind and body. The socialization of society has removed all these sources of pleasure, and by depriving many millions of lives of the most useful stimulus—the consciousness of liberty and a beautiful source of enjoyment—it has robbed agriculture of its best strength, for which the dulness of the regulation day's labor affords no compensation.

I had performed my task in so far that I had discovered the sources of the evils which were causing the Chancellor so much anxiety. But more was still required of me, and concerning these points I vainly racked my brains. I was to give suggestions for a remedy, and found nothing to furnish the smallest hint of one. Could I propose that the Government should vouchsafe to put the whole cargo of socialism on a ship, and despatch it under a full head of steam to the land of fools?

The advice might not have been entirely safe, for Government methods must not be made ridiculous, and I could not imagine that people in the socialistic community were wholly free from sensitiveness. But it would not even have showed great wisdom, for the plan would only have conjured up fresh disaster. Had the Government desired to restore property to private hands, people could not have agreed concerning land, houses, workshops, ships, or railroads.

Or should I recommend to the Government to divide the land into shares, and leave every one to obtain his or her own support? This would have been still worse, for there was not land enough for half the people, and

its distance from the place where they worked would have been too great for the majority. Or should agriculture be carried on by private enterprise and everything else be managed on the socialistic system? This would have led to warfare between the inhabitants of town and country. Business would have been conducted partly on the basis of money, partly on that of credit cards, and there would have been no end of quarrelling.

No matter how much I tortured my poor brains, I could find no expedient to suggest. It seemed to be the curse of socialism that its defects were irremediable. Like all things earthly, it is oppressed with evils, but if there is no escape from these evils the whole system of society must break down.

Hitherto I had contented myself with forwarding from time to time reports in which I merely stated what places I had visited, and what matters had seemed to me specially worthy of note in my investigations. My opinions and suggestions of improvement were to be embodied in the final report, and my only comfort was that the time for it was still tolerably far in the future. But the more this distance daily diminished, the more uncomfortable I felt.

CHAPTER IX.

A HAPPY EVENT AND A BIT OF BAD NEWS.

During the latter half of January there was a brief interruption in my travels. An invitation from Sister Martha to attend her—wedding, induced me to ask leave of absence for a few days and return to my lodgings in Berlin.

The matter was not wholly unexpected, as I had maintained a constant correspondence with her. Shortly after my departure early in December she had received from Albert Croner a letter which suggested this result.

The young man, after severe toils and conflicts, had at last conquered. He had traversed all Asia in quest of a position that suited his qualifications. Now here, now there, a glimmer of hope had shone upon him, but the race jealousy of the natives and the intrigues of foreign adventurers had always destroyed his prospects. Scarcely did he obtain a situation where he hoped to make his abilities valuable, ere he found himself crowded out again, and he had gone from country to country, supporting himself by arduous daily toil. Amid all calamities and deprivations one ardent passion had sustained him. His soul was filled with rapture when his bright hopes turned to the dear object of his love in his distant native country. Since he had tested her heroic character, her gigantic power of self-sacrifice, the glowing warmth of affection had been fanned to a consuming flame which urged him on in restless strife. He

seemed to himself like some fairy prince, who must force a passage through a thorny forest to a sleeping princess and a royal crown.

After years of wandering he had at last won the friendship of an Englishman, who, having settled in Japan, was taking a journey through the western districts to establish connections for a large manufacturing enterprise in which he was a partner. This practical man soon recognized the admirable abilities of the engineer, and justly appreciating how valuable his energetic nature, wealth of knowledge, and honest mind would be in the business, he had persuaded him to turn his steps to Japan, and, with a letter of recommendation from him, seek employment in the great establishment. Albert had not been reluctant to yield to his persuasions, and after several years' work in the business had had the good-fortune to be offered the position of manager and a share in the profits. He had now reached the goal of his desires, and for the first time penned a letter to the woman he loved. He described to her all that he had endured and suffered, told her that he had at last gained an assured position, and asked whether she who was so dear to him would share, in a land so far from her native country, a life which, with her, would be one of happiness, without her only a sea of pain and grief.

Sister Martha did not delay her answer. Directly after receiving his letter she flashed to him, with the lightning speed of the telegraph, the brief words: "I will go with you to any spot in the world where I can be your wife." A few hours later she had a reply, informing her that her lover had set out to secure his jewel.

Albert Croner had now arrived. His time was short,

and the wedding was to take place as soon as possible. With the exception of myself and a few school friends of the couple, no one was invited save the Hormanns, Herr Hormann's sister, and Herr Büchner. I had expected the event, and it had been a delightful thought that two such noble natures were to be rewarded for their virtues in this desolate world.

Yet when I entered a train to go to the ceremony my heartfelt joy was blended with deep sorrow. This happy event was robbing me of my dearest friend, the only creature in this new world to whom I felt bound by any tie. The sense of happiness which stole over me when, after a long withdrawal from life I found myself for the first time in this new epoch, had given place to contradictory emotions. I saw myself transported to a world of human beings who labored, fed, and clothed themselves, jested and danced like human beings, but were robbed by their social system of all those loftier motives which make men really men. Existence was narrowed, life purposeless. How should I endure existence in this society after losing my only friend? And yet how happy a dispensation of Providence I must regard the fate which removed two human beings, so nobly gifted, from a sphere which denied them the exercise of their brightest virtues. After Herr Büchner and I had accompanied the young couple to the magistrate's office, we went to a casino, where in one room stood a table covered with pretty wedding gifts, and in another a little supper was spread.

The union of the pair for life was a charming ceremony to witness. Albert, with a look of pride, standing by the side of the bride he had won by such arduous struggles, and she smiling happily, though tears often glittered on her cheeks as she thought of bidding fare-

well to the places and people she most warmly loved. He, the living embodiment of German vigor, for whom the socialized country had become too narrow; she, the sweet incarnation of German love, whose moral nature socialism knew not how to value. None of those present could help being deeply stirred by such a ceremony. Everybody was both joyful and sad. When, late in the afternoon, we accompanied the newly-wedded pair to the station—they were going to Hamburg, whence they were to sail the next morning—even we men found it difficult to restrain our tears. "May God's blessing go with you from the land which shuts out German strength and German love!" I cried. "Teach foreign nations to honor the virtues which were once the pride of every German."

I gazed after the train long after it had vanished; I took no heed of what was passing around me. The Hormanns had quietly retired, probably because the formality of taking leave would have been too hard for them. Herr Büchner came up and slipped his hand through my arm.

"I think there will be no more work done to-day," he said, in his pleasant, cordial manner. "If we sit alone in our offices all these things will stir our hearts and our heads will not grow cool. It will be better for us to spend this evening together."

"I think so too," I replied. "I should have the queerest fancies if I were left to my own thoughts to-night."

"Well, then, I'll make you a proposal: The Philomathic Society meets at eight o'clock, and that will afford us the best possible diversion. Let us take a roundabout way to my house, where I expect some important papers; then we'll find an hour's time to get a cup of coffee in some restaurant."

He took my arm, and we set off. On our way he told me about this Philomathic Society. It had been formed three years before, and its members met on a certain evening every week. It consisted principally of men of science, professors, teachers, physicians, higher officials, etc. The purpose of the society was to relieve, by the discussion of general scientific questions, the dulness into which intellectual life had fallen in the socialistic community.

The intention was less to get material for conversation, by carefully-prepared essays, than to have a free discussion of any topics chance might furnish. If the talk turned upon any subject relating to a department of knowledge comparatively unfamiliar, the president was authorized, in compliance with the wish of the assembly, to appoint some one competent to deal with it.

Herr Büchner spoke with great interest of this society, which afforded him many an hour's diversion, and assured me that it would greet me as a guest with much pleasure. What could have been more welcome to me for this evening?

I gratefully accepted the offer of introducing me into the society, and, engaged in pleasant conversation, we strolled through the streets. After a long circuit we reached the Bureau of Statistics, where Herr Büchner wished to settle some little matters of business. I took an arm-chair, while he glanced through several documents.

Scarcely had he finished when his eye fell on a small note which had been hidden under other papers. With a look of surprise he tore it open, and I noticed that, as he read the contents, his face wore an expression of intense amazement. In perfect silence, though he looked very much excited, he handed me the sheet.

The note was in the Chancellor's hand, and after I had managed to decipher the unfamiliar scrawl a feeling of terror seized upon me. The hasty words were:

"My dear Büchner,—I should like to see you a few minutes early to-morrow morning. Strange news has arrived. A general war has broken out in Central Asia, and seems to be involving all countries and races. Our ambassador urgently entreats us to send no more goods, and to recall those already despatched."

So what the Chancellor had feared weeks since as a crushing blow had happened. We remained in helpless silence. Herr Büchner paced restlessly up and down the room, and it was long ere he could give utterance to his perplexity and grief.

"Now the social democratic gentry will reap what they have sowed!" he suddenly exclaimed. "This is a fine piece of business! One would not have supposed such folly possible! To establish in a densely peopled country, which can get neither bite nor sup without a colossal importation of food, a social system which leaves it helpless as soon as exportation is cut off! From blind hatred of innocent capital they rage against what constituted their own wealth. It's just about as sensible as though a millionaire threw all his money out of the window when he had neither bread nor meat in his house."

Since my conversation with the Chancellor, I had clearly perceived what serious results might follow any interruption of the commercial relations with Central Asia. But my temperament would not permit me to admit instantly the utter hopelessness of affairs. Men and nations have too frequently found means of escape

from the worst dilemma, and recalling many such incidents in my own life, as well as in history, I could not believe that in this instance a crisis would actually make the heavens fall. It was a trait of my character that, even in cases where I was myself no less painfully affected than others, I felt an unconquerable desire to offer consolation. I therefore alluded to the terrible penury from which Germany suffered during the French invasion early in the nineteenth century, and which at the end of a few decades was followed by a period of remarkable prosperity.

"But did the Germans have a social democratic Government at that time?" he asked.

"Certainly not," I replied, "but the war had robbed people very heavily. The farmers suffered from a scarcity of cattle and seed, and manufactures and commerce were paralyzed."

"But the people still had capital, no matter how much it had diminished," he answered. "And this remnant of capital helped them to sow the fields, raise cattle, and set the wheels of trade once more in motion. Where but a glimmer of this force lingers, it can quickly gather strength and diffuse blessings and prosperity. Nothing produces nothing, and men will hardly find means to create treasures by labor so long as they lack any possibility of furnishing the hungry with bread and meat."

"But only a part of the nation's food supply would be lost. A certain amount of this can be made good by wise economy, and what is still lacking the agricultural countries would doubtless give on credit."

"Ha! ha! ha!" the old man suddenly shouted. "The agricultural countries furnish anything on credit! They are all as poor as church mice. They will lack

coats, hosiery, shirts, garments, etc., if they can't get rid of their superfluous grain, and if they were to give us their grain on credit they would be forced to dispense with the necessaries of life. Besides—" and pausing in his restless pacing up and down the room he gazed at me with dilated eyes—"how should we pay them for what they loan us?"

"Why, we would gradually pay our debts with the increased productions of our factories."

But Herr Büchner grew still more excited.

"The increased productions of our factories! Where, if I may ask, are we to obtain these increased productions?"

"Would a manufacturing nation be unable to produce anything which would be gladly purchased in an agricultural country?"

"Explain yourself a little more clearly, my dear fellow. Cotton goods? Ready-made shirts? Woollens for men and women? Ready-made garments? Stockings? Silks? Beer? Paper? Chemicals? Bags or other jute goods? All these things require raw materials. We need wool, silk, jute, barley, rags, and Heaven knows what, to manufacture them. How are we to buy all these materials?"

"Well, I by no means fail to perceive the difficulties. But, after all, the result will be the same as before. We shall exchange manufactured products for these raw materials."

"It's all very well to talk about exchanging when we no longer know where to find the goods whose sale will protect us from famine. Don't you see that we must give up to the agricultural countries whatever they can use, even if the supply is over abundant? Don't you perceive that all other manufacturing countries must do

the same? That all the products of our factories will be as cheap as blackberries? And if we are obliged to use a much larger quantity of goods for the purchase of provisions, how much will be left to buy raw materials? And if we are compelled to restrict ourselves in the purchase of raw materials, where, next year, are we to obtain manufactured products to barter for food and raw materials? We shall have an increased lack of raw material, and, as a consequence, an increased deficiency in the supply of manufactured products. And so it will go on like an avalanche."

"True," I was forced to admit, "in that case the Chancellor's prediction will be verified. Then we shall be in the position of having the Government unable to give the people employment, and lack of work will cause starvation and freezing."

At heart I was no less aware of the hopelessness of the situation than he. Only the desire to cheer him a little in his depression, and a vague feeling that possibly some hidden means of safety might yet be found, had urged me to oppose his views. Even now I could not resist the desire to clutch at a straw or anything else which could serve as a possible aid.

"It is indeed a bad state of affairs," I added. "But what is the use of constantly conjuring up visions of ruin? Many a man has despaired who, contrary to his anticipations, has afterwards had the happiest life. The destinies of nations are also subject to change, and many a people, once crushed and desolate, has attained power and greatness. How nobly our own native land has often risen after violent storms!"

"My dear fellow," replied Herr Büchner, an expression of deep melancholy clouding his eyes, usually so sparkling, "the circumstances were entirely different.

Then people lived according to the laws of nature. No law, no command, prevented them from accumulating property, and their desire for gain led them to increase what they possessed. At first only a few succeeded, but everything gained aided, in its quality of capital, in the acquisition of more capital, and thus formed a working power for society which rendered the permanent increase of production possible and diffused wider prosperity. However strongly the owners of property endeavored to hold and to augment their possessions, all their selfishness could not prevent the capital-making power of these possessions and their own increasing wants from benefiting the productions of all the labor of society. But have we now a society in which the germs of wealth, capable by constant increase of spreading over larger districts, can develop? This equalization and envy of all property prevent the greater intelligence, greater talents, and greater power of the individual from being useful to mankind by unusual achievements."

During this conversation time had vanished, and just as Herr Büchner finished his sentence the clock in the room struck eight, the hour when the society met.

"We are forgetting the time," he said. "We will not depress our spirits further. The outcome has long been no secret, and all our talking can be of no service."

His face assumed its former cheerful expression as, taking my arm, we walked swiftly to the meeting of the Philomathic Society.

CHAPTER X.

HOW THE SCHOLARS OF THE SOCIALISTIC STATE REGARD THE TARIFF SYSTEM OF THE PAST.

We found a large company assembled, and I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of many extremely interesting persons. All the learned professions were largely represented, and many older gentlemen, who had formerly belonged to other circles, attended the meeting of the society.

The information which Herr Büchner had obtained from the Chancellor had already reached the assembly, and had been communicated from lip to lip. Most of the gentlemen were aware of its importance, and the future of the Government, as well as the measures to be adopted, were eagerly discussed.

"Ought we not, in such a situation, to profit by the same means which people formerly used in critical times —the protective policy?" asked an old philologist, who was probably better versed in Greek syntax than in political economy.

"Ha! ha! ha!" laughed Herr Büchner, who meanwhile had regained his cheerful mood, "would you offer us a means of escape by making bread so dear that we should be disgusted with eating?"

"Or would you incite the agricultural countries to make our sales harder by taxing manufactures?" said Counsellor Weinbauer.

A general outburst of mirth followed. Most of those

present had special knowledge enough to be aware that protective duties, like all other taxes, were forbidden things in the socialistic State.

"A policy of protection could not be introduced into the socialistic world," said the Professor of History, Dr. Hergenroth. "But in my opinion, during a crisis such as is impending to-day, a wise system of protection would be a remedy not to be despised."

"That would be a remedy for the crisis similar to giving Glauber salts for dyspepsia or quinine for buzzing in the ears!" cried Herr Stillfried, an ex-banker, somewhat abruptly.

"Protective duties have been of no service in either good or evil days," said the thin voice of Registrar Heimholz.

"Protective duties have restored prosperity to many a languishing branch of industry," retorted the bass tones of Dr. Monzel.

These were the last coherent words I heard. The conversation became so general and so animated that all the voices blended in a medley. After a long time Professor Hergenroth's obstinacy gained him a hearing.

"The facts of history by no means show that protective duties are not useful," he cried. "Bismarck saved the country by their aid during the crisis of 1878."

"In 1878 the crisis had already passed, and the protective duties merely conjured up a new one, ha! ha! ha!" interjected Herr Büchner.

But the irregular debate was now closed. Dr. Schlempke, a teacher in the gymnasia, tapped on his beer-glass, and, rising from his chair, said:

"Gentlemen, the subject under consideration belongs to the past, and possesses merely a scientific interest. If any question ever required a discussion by specialists

it is this. I appeal to No. 7 of our statutes, and request the president to appoint the speaker."

President. "If the assembly agree to this proposal (universal assent), it is my duty to seek some one who is competent to discuss the question of protective duties. We have the pleasure of seeing among us this evening our universally esteemed Professor Bergfall, whose comprehensive investigations of the system of the customs duties of the past has won so much approval. I request the professor to undertake the report of this question."

The choice was greeted with general applause, and the professor accepted with thanks the honor bestowed upon him. A short pause ensued, during which glasses were filled and cigars were lighted. Then Professor Bergfall rose.

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR BERGFALL.

"GENTLEMEN: You do not desire a long introduction concerning the nature and purpose of protective duties; but I may perhaps request your indulgent attention to a brief one. Only by following the growth of things can we thoroughly understand them.

"Undoubtedly the protective duties originated in a laudable purpose. In order to find work for the lower classes, Governments had endeavored, by fixing high duties on certain manufactured articles, to keep out foreign productions, that they might afford home industries an opportunity to attain technical perfection without the disturbance of competition.

"In the course of time this originally simple purpose became widened, as the mercantile idea that the wealth of a nation depended upon the amount of its money gained credence.

"In order to draw money into the country, people strove to promote the exportation of goods and to prevent importation. For the one object they endeavored to encourage home industry by the offer of bonuses and other means, and to attain the other by prohibiting importations and by protective duties.

"In this idea of the mercantile class we recognize a child of the Middle Ages. Its father was the narrow-minded spirit which beheld in every labor of others a hostile purpose, in every token of others' prosperity injury to self-interest. Its mother was the petty jealousy which watches with envy and disapproval every success of a putative rival. The mediæval man was petty in every respect. He knew no patriotism save that for his Church, and the flag of his interests scarcely waved beyond the confines of his place of residence. With illiberal folly, countries, provinces, districts, cities, town and country stood aloof from one another, and in accordance with this narrow-mindedness, which would allow no perception of the connection of interests, this mercantile system was also but a symbol of the short-sightedness which characterized the life of those days. In the course of my explanations I shall find opportunity to show you the contradictions in which the idea of this system stands in relation to the true nature of commercial activity. Even the darkness of the Middle Ages, however, was dispelled by the golden morning of knowledge, whose light forced its way into every sphere, and since the last quarter of the eighteenth century the rays of investigation have penetrated even the mysterious organization of the social body. We have learned to regard the business activity of men as one great whole, striving with a variety of interests towards a single goal—that of service to all mankind.

The result accomplished by the infinite amount of labor which we comprise under the general term 'production' does not fulfil its purpose by satisfying the need of the individual buyer, and cannot escape the higher object of serving the interest of the consuming world—the whole people, all mankind. And while production uses its powers for consumption, consumption returns the sustenance which enables an extension of its capacity. Producing and consuming, raising and using, are the two mutually dependent functions of society which maintain the life, growth, and prosperity of its wonderful organization. Their reciprocal action causes injury to one necessarily to injure the other, disturbances in one necessarily to cause disturbances in the other, which, reacting, again paralyze the former and check the development of the entire structure. This gradually extending perception made all efforts to establish a protective tariff seem to be an error, and during the obstinate conflict with petty interests, and the narrowness which is the inevitable attribute of all prejudice, a victorious passage was forced by the idea of free-trade, which promised to lead to the increasing welfare of mankind and to peace among the nations. A few countries had attained complete free-trade, but with the exception of Russia and the United States, all were striving to abolish the protective system.

"These are my introductory remarks concerning the conflict, from which, by the light-diffusing labor of science, free-trade arose from the protective system, as modern civilization came from the Middle Ages. But, gentlemen, the sole point of interest to modern investigation, and probably to the honored members of this society, is the relapse which, from the year 1878, seized upon all civilized nations with the single exception of

England. Just in a period of extraordinary progress, when magnificent discoveries and gigantic industrial achievements lent international traffic a vigor previously undreamed of, when a larger number of goods than ever were striving to obtain a market, and the increase of production was beginning to make life easier, even in the lowest classes of society, that abortion of the Middle Ages suddenly gained a victory, and, as in the days of the mercantile system, custom-houses were established on all the frontiers as an aid to traffic, a protection to the laboring people. The commencement was in our own Germany. Were they really an aid? Have they aided production, increased wealth, or rendered the lives of men happier?

"Nowhere has scientific investigation probably had to contend with greater difficulties than in the department of political economy. It cannot keep the object it is examining before the eye on a dissecting-table, cannot measure, weigh, nor compare it. Currents of all kinds which obstruct regularity of motion, and a confusion of minor phenomena whose influence on the whole cannot be computed, prevent the investigator from tracing the influence of the factors in all their changes. He is really referred to the path of deduction, but however keenly he pursues it, the cases are rare in which he has any proof to offer to the doubter, the opponent. Confronting such difficulties, we may consider ourselves fortunate in being assigned to a department of research whose simplicity of movement permits us to arrive, with unequivocal clearness, at a conclusion concerning the results which ensue when Governments, either by protective duties or bonuses, interfere with the free movement of trade.

"To follow the thread of investigation undisturbed

by vague influences through all its windings the famous Thünen formerly constructed his Isolated State. We, however, need no such creation of the imagination for our examination.. We have, in reality, the structure by which investigator, as well as layman, can in the simplest manner keep the object of examination before the eyes. This structure is our *socialistic State.*

"This socialistic State, in its organic functions, is a model of simplicity. There is no multiplicity of parts whose interests are apparently conflicting, no commission business coming between producer and consumer, no implements of trade in money whose currents conceal the movements of goods. The Government itself has the whole business of production in its own hands. Its duty is to produce a sufficient quantity of everything to supply the purchasing power of the inhabitants, and the multitude of wants it can satisfy affords a just criterion of its performance.

"This socialistic State solves the question of the basis on which the wealth of nations rests. It gives us a sure standard by which we can estimate the prosperity of the nations. We do not ask the amount of money which is in circulation or in the banks, the quantity of interest-bearing notes, the fertility of the soil, nor the metallic treasures. Our standard is the degree of enjoyment which the total production of the population procures, and if we wish to decide which of the socialistic States is the richest, we compare the pleasures which the inhabitants receive from the production of the State.

"Let us now imagine, gentlemen, that a fine of five hundred million marks has been imposed by the international syndicate upon the Government of our State. It can raise the sum only by the products which it has

manufactured for the enjoyment of its inhabitants. Payment cannot be made except by limiting the pleasures of the whole population, and in order, during this restriction of pleasures, to put no constraint upon individual tastes, it is decided to raise the desired sum by taxes. Two ways present themselves: the direct and the indirect tax; and the indirect tax has also a choice of two methods: it can be raised by revenue taxes or protective duties.

"Let us now investigate what consequences would result to the inhabitants as consumers, and to the State as producer, according to the adoption of one or the other of these three ways.

"*Direct* taxation is simple and easy. The Government commands each of its round fifty million receivers of credit cards to pay ten marks. The result of this is that the income of every individual is reduced from fifteen hundred to fourteen hundred and ninety marks, and the Government has a quantity of productions amounting to fifty million times ten marks—that is, to five hundred million, with which it can pay the fine imposed. One person has restricted himself in the use of this article, another in that, but there has been no other effect upon the consumption or the production of society.

"It would be somewhat less simple and less easy to raise the amount by revenue taxes—that is, by duties levied when the goods are placed in the market, but which impose no sacrifice upon the consumer other than the tax. It can only be levied upon goods which come from foreign countries and are not manufactured at home, or on goods produced at home, when the whole amount made is affected by it as soon as it passes from production to consumption. The latter is done, for in-

stance, by a tax on the consumption of sugar, when a tax is laid upon all the sugar produced as soon as it reaches the consumer's hands from the factory. Let us suppose that the Government wanted to raise the five hundred million marks by taxing coffee, tea, rice, and sugar; it would increase the original price of these goods so much that the sale of the quantity which is generally used by the people would yield the five hundred millions. The consequence now would be that each person would be forced to restrict his use of other products in proportion to the additional sum he was obliged to pay for coffee, tea, rice, and sugar. The Government, as in the case of direct taxation, would have at its disposal, in the goods unused, the five hundred millions to be paid. The public would lose precisely the same amount as by direct taxation, and the only visible difference would be that those who used more of the taxed articles than others would be more burdened than they.

"We now come to the third case, raising the five hundred millions by *protective duties* — that is, by duties on goods which come from foreign countries and are also produced at home, but which are imposed on the foreign goods only. The Government determines to levy on all these things, grain, cattle, meal, butter, articles of clothing, everything which is important for the maintenance of life — a tax which, according to the quantity of goods imported, will produce the sum desired. By this tax, also, it will obtain possession of the five hundred millions, but the result will be different. In the disposal of its products it cannot fix a higher price upon the imported goods — to whose original cost the tax must now be added — than upon its own productions. It cannot exact from the inhabitants who buy, against their will, a loaf made from Russian wheat, a bit of

meat from a Hungarian ox, or a garment of English buckskin, higher prices than are obtained for similar wares made of German material. So it is compelled to raise the prices of home products also, unless it is willing to give up the plan of raising the five hundred million marks by an advance in prices.

"What will now result? All the inhabitants will buy what they need at increased rates, and exhaust their credit cards long before the goods produced have been exhausted. That is, the consumption by the people would be restricted to a far greater degree than the amount of the tax required, and consequently there would be no sale for a large part of their work. That is, according to the standard we have previously established, the wealth of the nation would have lessened, or, in other words, the people would have grown poorer.

"Now, gentlemen, with the measures we have suggested, would there be any different result in our socialistic State than that which occurred in the former society, in consequence of the various systems of taxation? In one respect, undoubtedly, we must note a variation. The former Governments expended the sums raised as taxes, and they flowed back to the people, the consumers. So we must make a slight correction in order to have the objects of comparison harmonize. We can easily do this by supposing that the international syndicate, meanwhile, had not considered the fine imposed justified, and had restored the goods—amounting in value to five hundred million marks—which had been delivered. There would then be agreement on this point. The Government would desire to have the goods used as a tax restored to the consumers. What would be the result in the three cases? In all three the Government would add the ten marks to the amount of the credit

cards, but in each one this addition would have a different effect. For the direct tax, each one would have received what he paid. In the revenue tax, those who had used more of the taxed goods would sustain losses, while those who had consumed less would reap a profit. In the system of protective duties not only this loss would follow, but so far as the duties increased the cost of the home-made goods, the people would suffer from the lasting injury of being restricted in the number of its pleasures—that is, in its prosperity.

"You will answer that in the former state of society the latter injury would not have been inflicted because, by the increase of prices, a profit would have flowed in to the producers of the goods, which they would have expended, thus restoring it to trade. But this objection would be only partly, not fully established. For apart from the inequality of distribution—which was not to be avoided with the irregularity of consumption, in so far as what was taken from the great majority was given to a few speculators—the greater portion of what the mass of consumers and some few speculators obtained remained for a long time, or permanently, withdrawn from the traffic of the nation. It fell partly into the hands of very rich people, who did not spend it for useful articles, but invested it in home or foreign stocks. Thus it was transformed into capital, which in time would probably promote the prosperity of the people, but meanwhile was withdrawn from trade, and if it went to foreign countries did not even benefit the native land in its quality of capital. The best characterization of this result is probably to say that an artificial formation of capital took the place of the natural one. Circulation was lessened to obtain more capital, and this occasioned a disturbance in the course of trade. Instead of leav-

ing trade to form amounts of capital in proportion to its growth, capital was created in amounts which did not harmonize with the diminished prosperity of the population. This capital, thus artificially increased in the pursuit of gain, could only come into competition with itself, and thereby cause an amount of production which the purchasing power of the nation could not equal. This caused an unhealthy fluctuation of prices, from which nothing suffered more than capital and production. We can, by our example, plainly see this effect of our system of protective duties. The surplus of useful articles caused by the decrease of consumption became, in the hands of the Government, the producer, additional capital, which forced it to throw on the market increased quantities of goods, for which it could find a sale only at prices which, spite of the intended increase of value by the protective duties, were not in harmony with the cost of production.

"Apart from these objections which I have adduced, our examples show only the same effects which, under the natural mode of traffic, appeared in the former system of society in consequence of the different modes of taxation. The fact that in those days money effected the transfer of goods made no change in the result, for the object of production was the same as in our socialistic State, namely, to produce pleasures for the human race. Nor did the fact that production was in the hands of many, rather than of one, have any influence upon the final result. At that time the sole aim of production was to satisfy the purchasing power of the whole population, and the injurious effect on consumption could affect the numerous producers of the past in no other way than it does the single one of our socialistic Government.

"So you see, gentlemen, that among the systems of

taxation of the past, the protective one was the most absurd. It caused discord between production and consumption. It will also be clear to you why that wretched mercantile system, which estimated a nation's wealth by the amount of money, was an emanation of mediæval folly. Men did not understand the objects of human industry, did not understand the reciprocal action which production and consumption naturally have upon each other. People did not perceive that man, in his work, belongs to the whole human race, not to his church, his province, and his native land; that each individual has better conditions for a prosperous development of his working power in proportion to the greater prosperity of all humanity; that every barrier of customs by which, with petty jealousy, one nation sought to injure fellow nations, must necessarily impose a barrier to the prosperity of its own population.

"Why did the German Government in 1878 again restore the old, worn-out mediæval system? Probably because the United States and Russia had been caught by it. But in America, a free nation, ignorant of the nature of trade, and not understanding its own interest, voluntarily, as the saying goes, allowed itself to be fleeced by the millionaires, and in Russia the change was made arbitrarily without any consent given by the people. Our statesmen of those days could not possibly have held the opinion that the voluntarily endured pillaging of the people by American millionaires, and the contempt of justice helplessly endured in the Russian empire, were to be recommended as model government arrangements.

"Or was it considered necessary to stimulate the people's work by protective duties? Oh, gentlemen, where could I find any era in history in which this would have

been less requisite. In Germany, as well as elsewhere, the most magnificent levers of industry had been set in motion. The whole system of production was in a condition of feverish activity. Immense amounts of capital were in the market seeking investment; inventions of every description, improved machines, perfection of all implements of labor, a vast ocean commerce, railroads, and telegraphs in every land, whatever can facilitate work was toiling with the utmost zeal. Production was in danger of outstripping the wants of men, and needed the curb rather than the spur. Never had the world beheld such quantities of goods, and a natural, healthful fall in prices had begun to pour a rich measure of enjoyment upon the human race.

"What, then, can have been the cause of the relapse which, according to scientific judgment, renders that period so peculiar? History has no satisfactory explanation for it. The secret reasons of the great statesman who at that day directed with such iron vigor and such remarkable skill the government of the newly-established German empire, are not discernible. It was said that languishing agriculture and languishing manufactures must be helped. But in what did the languishing consist? Under the influence of over-production the prices of everything had fallen, and the fall in prices had lessened the gains of the speculators. The belief seemed to prevail that the yield of the soil would lessen, manufactures and production diminish, if the speculators did not receive a large profit from their capital, and in order to obtain this for them an effort was made to raise the price of products by taxes. There was an attempt to force the public to pay more money for bread and meat, clothing, and implements of labor, in order to put this money into the pockets of the speculators.

"Was this purpose attained? Were the speculators helped? Sometimes, not always. Some, not all. We have seen by our examples that the policy of protective duties caused an over-supply of goods, and it is perfectly apparent that consumption cannot be increased if the articles which the nation consumes are made dearer. Therefore, it was perfectly natural that protective duties could at first only injure, not benefit, producers who were active as speculators. Prices fell still lower, and it was a fact based on the existing state of affairs that the decade succeeding the restoration of the policy of protective duties was a decade of the loudest complaints. Not until after bad crops began to reduce the quantities of bread and meat, and a comparative limitation of activity had taken place in many branches of production, did a rise of prices begin, which again favored speculators. The general blow dealt to the production of the nation by the policy of protective duties of course did not prevent individual branches of industry and individual capitalists from reaping considerable advantages from the protection given to them. But the more unprejudiced view with which we, from the higher standpoint of a later period, survey these currents of the past, does not lead us to regard the business policy of those days in a light any more favorable than the mediæval mercantile system. But it was much less pardonable, because it affected a flourishing civilization far more than the latter did the less developed commerce of a period which was still struggling with the beginning of civilized life.

"Its worst effects, however, were on the moral world. It is always bad for nations when governments themselves hurl the firebrand of interests among the masses. Passions are roused which threaten to destroy all higher

impulses and to divide the classes of the people into the most repulsive contrasts. Who would not be overcome by a feeling of intense sorrow while studying the history of those years? The Germans had just obtained a united country. What they had so long sought and desired, though owing to the selfishness of the German princes it seemed impossible, had at last become reality, and all races looked with enthusiasm and confidence to the Hohenzollerns, whose crown appeared to them the symbol of power and justice. Then the policy of protective duties destroyed this noble flame. Race hatred and religious hatred blazed forth with class hatred, and the country so recently united became the arena of the basest party passions. Capitalists gathered around the Government, by whose protective duties they expected to gain treasures without toil, and the poor felt repulsed by a policy which seemed to them an interference with their possessions. Whether the protective duties could promote the interests of the speculator at the expense of the consumer in the manner intended, whether they must not rather conjure up another evil, was a question which, owing to the conflicts of interests, could not receive proper consideration. Where financial interests are at stake the brains of men are clouded by vague forebodings, which shut out calm judgment and moral emotions. Had the capitalists of those days, the great land-owners and the great manufacturers, clearly perceived how completely their own interests were identified with those of their consumers, and how little justice the policy of protective duties could do to the interests of both, they would scarcely have been so foolish as to permit, with calm indifference, the growth of a hatred which was not only directed against them but was undermining the authority of society,

the authority of the State, and the authority of the throne.

"Well, gentlemen, we are tasting the fruits of that hatred. We are on the eve of a catastrophe which threatens to ingulf civilization, prosperity, and ourselves with them. The policy of protective duties has been the nurse who suckled the infant social democracy and aided its sturdy growth.

"If the Government believed itself entitled to favor the rich at the expense of the poor, the natural consequence was that the poor claimed the right to take from the rich enough to secure for themselves a comfortable support. Sensible people can find no satisfaction in things contradictory to reason, and I shall certainly meet with no contradiction from you if I term socialism a monster of folly. It was foolish to make the State the manager of production, foolish to rob the individual of the power of acquiring property, but most foolish of all to deny men the possession of capital; for this lack of capital will prove the obstacle which will prevent our obtaining the necessary food for our people during the commercial crisis now impending.

"Small causes have often produced great results. Little heed was paid to awakening the covetousness of the rich, but this trivial evil, which probably seemed useful to some political interest, fostered the ugly passion till the evil could no longer be conquered. It has always been the misfortune of nations when Governments saw the truth too late."

After Professor Bergfall had finished his address, to which the assembly listened with the closest attention, the president rose to thank him in the name of the society, and at the same time invited the members to discuss what they had heard. At first no one seemed

disposed to make any reply, but after a long pause Professor Hergenroth, who, as a zealous student of political history, might not consider his colleague's views of political economy decisive, requested permission to say a few words.

Professor Hergenroth. "I believe, gentlemen, that we must all agree with the last portion of Professor Bergfall's address. For myself, I have never considered socialism a blessing. Nor have I any theoretical objections to make to my valued colleague's explanation of the various systems of collecting duties.

"But I think in politics we must make a distinction between theory and practice. A thing may be theoretically wrong, but of the utmost value in practice. I believe that, in the situation of affairs then existing, the protective policy adopted can have been only advantageous to our country. It kept foreign wares from our frontiers, thereby relieving our own productions from dangerous competition, while the home manufactures could go abroad unrestricted. It may have been injurious to the people by raising the price of provisions, but as it cut off the competition of foreign countries, it secured to us the opportunity of finding a sale for our manufactured products, and in this way the whole nation reaped a profit far in excess of the injury inflicted by the increased cost of food."

Scarcely had Professor Hergenroth sat down when Herr Büchner sprang from his seat with youthful elasticity, and, in evident excitement, requested a hearing.

Herr Büchner. "The gentleman who has just spoken appears to have restricted himself too much in his studies of the history of our native land. Hence he has failed to perceive the most important point in the business relations of those days. What Germany did

to other countries was honestly returned, and the German goods which strove to secure buyers in foreign lands found the same barriers of custom-house duties which Germany had so amiably erected against those lands. If the gentleman will have the kindness to study in statistics the movement of trade of those days, he will arrive at the totally opposite conclusion that the ready sale of products he praises by no means occurred. Statistics rather show stagnation* in the export of manufactured products which, with the increased aids of capital and machinery, could not have taken place, had not the policy of protective duties rendered it impossible for Mother Nature to apply her quickly acting remedy."

Banker Stillfried. "I should like to confirm, by a few brief remarks, what Herr Büchner has just stated. The disproportion between production and consumption in those days was actually so great that the producers often found themselves forced to form unions, by whose means they pledged themselves either to a certain limitation of their production, or to the maintenance of a fixed price for the sale of their goods; and the latter plan is nearly equivalent to a limitation of production. One of the strangest consequences of this cartel was the effort to keep the price of goods sold at home so high that it would cover the loss of selling abroad at re-

* It is not necessary to live in the year 2000 to perceive the stagnation in the sale of our manufactured products after the introduction of the system of protective duties mentioned by Herr Büchner. It was plainly visible in the latter part of the eighth decade of the nineteenth century. If we compare the whole amount of the manufactured goods exported from Germany during the latter half of this decade with the exportation during the first half, it will show only an increase by no means in proportion to the increase of population during this period. This is a crushing argument against the far-famed benefit of the system of protective duties.—D. H.

duced rates those which, owing to the increased production, could not be disposed of. This unpatriotic course would have been possible only under the protection of the high tariff, and shows in the strongest light the folly of the policy of protective duties. In this respect also it will be very useful to us to try to understand clearly, from Professor Bergfall's examples, the importance of this matter to the socialistic State.

"If, for instance, our Government has placed a particularly high price on iron, all who are compelled to use articles of which iron forms a part would be forced to restrict other wants in proportion to the additional cost of the former. The Government would thus retain unsold a quantity of manufactured products, and the labor expended on them would have been wasted. If it had also sold the iron produced for export below the cost of manufacture, a part of the working strength would thereby have remained unused which, if devoted to other purposes, might have been of service to society. So we have here an arrangement of business which leads to a twofold waste of labor, and a system of duties which gives occasion for such practices cannot possibly cause the enrichment of the people."

Councillor Weinbauer. "Professor Bergfall has termed socialism a folly, and probably we shall all agree that the appellation is a very happy one. We might try to apply it also to the system of protective duties, but I fear that would let the protectionists off too easily. A fool may be honest and good-natured, wish for the best, and avoid injuring his fellow-men. The social democrats, it is true, have not been over-friendly to the rich, but they have not desired their penury; they have merely sought the acquisition of part of their surplus, leaving them, like everybody else, an endurable life.

But what the protectionists desired to secure of their neighbors' possessions must be principally taken from the very persons who had no surplus, and must therefore lose what was requisite for their most urgent needs. It seems to me that the moral qualities of the protectionists are specially obvious in such a comparison."

Herr Bromfeld, ex-Agriculturist. "It seems to me that Professor Bergfall has said a great deal about manufactures, but very little concerning languishing agriculture. The needy farmers of those times, however, found it very useful to receive for their grain a price higher by the amount of the duty than that of foreign countries."

Herr Büchner. "I desire to say, on the contrary, that the protective duty scarcely yielded more profit to the needy farmer than the collection and sale of cigar ends affords to orphan children.

"The prosperity of agriculture depends wholly upon the prosperity of industry, which gives mankind occupation and means to purchase, and it could sustain nothing but injury from a system of duties which, as to-day has clearly shown, must check the progress of manufactures."

President. "No one else has any remarks to make? So I have merely to recapitulate briefly what we have gained as the result of our present meeting. The policy of protective duties, again adopted in the year 1878, was a superannuated system, contradictory to the lessons of science, and in no respect adapted to an epoch which is under the rule of reason. Its effect has been to deprive production and consumption of the energy they need, promote the unhealthful formation of capital, thus causing an unhealthful spirit of speculation in the province of production, and thereby obstructing the desirable de-

velopment of manufacturing. It could not, therefore, be beneficial to agriculture, and prevented the wealth of the nation from proving profitable to the lower classes of the people. I hereby close the meeting, hoping that there will be an equally numerous attendance at the next session."

CHAPTER XI.

THE END OF SOCIETY.

WHILE we were preparing for departure after the close of the meeting, several young officials were introduced to me, and chance ordained that, after the interchange of the first few civilities, I was invited to make the round of several places of amusement. I had never been averse to such "rounds," because I have always enjoyed seeing a gay throng of people. This evening I had the least possible reason for refusing, because I actually dreaded the solitude of my room; so I accepted the proposal with many thanks.

We visited a number of places of amusement: beer-shops, dancing-halls, and similar places; but this time I did not have the usual gratification of quiet enjoyment. The present amusement, grief for my lost friend, the bad news of the evening, and the interesting debate of the Philomathic Society, weighed heavily on my heart and brain.

Bergfall's address did not burden my heart least. It aroused the memory of the saddest time in my life. How wonderfully happy I had felt when the German empire, rising from the battle-fields of France, began to build a beautiful and noble structure on the basis of a free legislation! How our nation seemed to have suddenly escaped from all that was petty and hateful, while a loftier spirit appeared to animate the breast of even the humblest citizen. Then, when the revulsion

occurred so abruptly, how deep was the pang! Those were the most sorrowful years of my life. Had Germania really remained the symbol of nobility and beauty? Had not all striven to drag her into the service of material interests?

This was the bitter question which then bowed me to the earth, and which now again assailed me! How the conflict of interests was kindled, class hatred awakened, and party passion roused! All these memories stirred within me. I now found myself in the midst of careless mirth, but my soul was oppressed, and my heart ached with the knowledge that the end of all happiness was so near.

Aye, people danced and jested, caroused and rejoiced, sang and laughed. Why should they not? The Government had relieved them of all anxieties, and if others were to think and ponder, strive and calculate, why should they not look forward carelessly to the morrow? People consider it to be their right not to have their cheerfulness shadowed by sorrows and distress. Among all the horrible things which we have been told concerning the French Revolution, nothing made so indelible an impression upon me as the fact that, in the Days of the Terror, when the hapless king's head fell, and streams of human blood flowed from the guillotine, gay Paris sought amusement every evening in twenty-three theatres, and enjoyed dancing in sixty public halls. Why should not the people laugh and dance and jest now, when no guillotine beheaded, and no bloody tribunal sought innocent victims?

But in the socialistic State, too, Fate moves quickly, and Care, with gloomy mien, approaches even the most light-hearted. I had frequent opportunities of talking with Herr Büchner, and as he was well-informed,

through his relations with the Government, I always had the latest news.

The Government had not lost its head, but developed the utmost energy in the hour of need. Telegrams were despatched continually in every direction, and within a few days it received accurate information of the amount of provisions in store. Active intercourse was also maintained with foreign countries. Every effort was made to dispose of all goods which were saleable, and to get grain and meat in exchange. But spite of the utmost exertion, too much working-power had been used in the production of articles for which, hitherto, there had been an active demand in Central Asia, and these were needed nowhere else. Harvest time was still far distant, and no matter how industriously estimates were made, a blank space remained to represent several months' consumption.

Two plans now came up for consideration. Should they manage to live until the harvest by reducing the allowance of food to half rations, leaving the rest to the future, or should the stock now on hand be consumed and the struggle for life then be abandoned?

The latter course was deemed base and cowardly. Little hope as there might be, the more so because all densely populated countries were in the same precarious situation, duty required the helm to be held until the last moment, because the longer the ground was held the more chances for the possibility of escape would present themselves. The only fear was that it would be extremely difficult to make the people content to accept a half-ration of bread, if at the same time the supply of meat was also reduced one-half, and a second fear was that the diminished allowance of meat and bread would cause an increased consumption of potatoes.

The best way of meeting the former difficulty was believed to be to issue bread at least a week old, and, in order to avoid the second, it was determined to permit only a certain proportion of potatoes per person to be issued to all the eating-houses, as well as to individual purchasers. The necessity for asking the same price for the reduced rations which had formerly been fixed for the whole ones could not come under discussion. No doubt was possible that, with the increased competition of the manufacturing countries, the purchase of provisions, as well as of raw materials, could be made only by giving away larger quantities of manufactured articles, so in this respect also a certain abstemiousness on the part of the people must be enjoined. A few days later the nation was surprised by the following Government edict:

To the Citizens of Socialistic Germany:

Fellow Citizens,—A sorrowful fate has overtaken our nation. The wars which have broken out in our most important market have destroyed the sale of most of the products your industry and your labor have manufactured for the purchase of our food. There is danger that the stock of provisions will not last until the beginning of the approaching harvest unless, by wise and timely restriction, the most dangerous evil is checked. We therefore issue the following orders:

1. Bread and pastry of all kinds will not be delivered until it is a week old.

2. To each individual of both sexes fixed rations of bread and meat, amounting to one-half the quantity hitherto consumed, will be daily delivered. The price of the rations will be posted in the shops.

3. Potatoes and other varieties of food will be fur-

nished to restaurants, and also for domestic purposes, in fixed quantities only.

4. This order goes into effect on January 24th.

We lament with you the grievous visitation which Providence has inflicted upon our people, and expect that you will endure this severe trial with patience and submission. Remember the old maxim: "Calmness is the first duty of the citizen."

THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

There was not a human being who found this a pleasant surprise, and the angry emotions roused by the edict did not diminish when, on the third day, the reduced portions and stale bread were delivered. The prevailing mood did not become more cheerful or life more peaceful, and the harshest comments were passed upon the Government. The Press, however, did its duty in this hour of need. The Government could not be blamed for the misfortune, it said; the fault rested entirely with the socialization of society. Had the capital of society remained in private hands, there would have been a simple way of escape. The capitalists would have changed their stocks and bonds into gold, and, in the hope of a profit, ordered from abroad the food we must now lack. But a society, which has allowed the State to absorb all property, must take into the bargain the unpleasant fact that all its rich possessions have lost their value by being made over to the State, and in the midst of infinite treasures it is still too poor to help itself out of a sore strait.

The justice of this deduction was not instantly perceived, but time proved its wisdom. The first idea was that the Government should sell only lands or railroads, and, as during the French Revolution, procure countless

millions by the issue of *assignats*. But the impossibility of this proposal was easily demonstrated. There was a lack of buyers who could pay for lands and railroads, and without payment the sale would have been useless. It was a singular experience: what had been doubtful for thousands of years; what remarkable intellects had debated with a display of brilliant dialectics; what the masses seemed to find so difficult to understand, the rebellious stomach at last solved. Ownership of property is no harmful arrangement, no device of the human intellect, no injury to society; it is a decree of Mother Nature, a fundamental necessity of civilization, a necessity essential to the existence of the human race. To abolish property is to abolish a work of Nature, and whoever disturbs this good mother in her salutary work she punishes inexorably with a heavy hand. This was the truth which the empty stomach had made plain, and which was now no longer doubted by the socialistic world.

Had not the situation been so unusually lamentable, I should have believed that I found myself in a most important historical epoch. Since the children of Eve first began to think, no more difficult problem has ever been brought to an absolute solution; this was the first moment in thousands of years that an important truth found no doubters. It seemed to be decided beyond question that Bebel had been no true prophet, and Marx and Lassalle had racked their brilliant brains over a foolish inquiry. People no longer pondered over their theories; their hungry stomachs were a better authority for them.

While men were bewailing their situation and theoretically solving the social question, the Government was striving with all its powers to avert the worst mis-

fortune. Numerous consultations were held, and every conceivable expedient was devised. But their task was impossible; the most important portions of the social body were weakened by socialization, and it could not succeed in bringing the impaired organism to an effective exercise of strength. The levelling of wants had created a perfectly untenable position. Many densely peopled countries, if they have proportionate prosperity, find in this very density a powerful lever for maintaining and increasing this prosperity, and densely peopled countries which are in close juxtaposition, can all in a similar manner serve to strengthen the vital energy. But, to accomplish this, it is an unavoidable condition that there must be opportunity for abundant employment, and that products can be exchanged among their own people, as well as with other nations.

To attain all this it is requisite that tastes and inclinations should have the widest range, and that talent and skill should be afforded unlimited scope. In the former social system this condition existed, and because tastes and inclinations were adapted to talents and skill, its permanent growth was possible without danger to its existence. Now the equalization of incomes had confined tastes and inclinations to much narrower limits, thereby restricting the activity of many acquired talents and natural abilities, but abolishing many kinds of work. How could any other result ensue than that of making it more difficult for these numerous nations to obtain, by the sale of their products, the means to purchase food?

So long as a newly-developing civilization in a foreign quarter of the world opened to them a new market this peril was not great; but as soon as wars checked the growth of this civilization, the danger was doubly

strengthened. When a larger number of densely peopled countries, with a greatly restricted number of products and a diminished demand, are seeking to force sales in order to obtain food, their products must undergo a shrinkage of value, and the sole result can be that the means of sustaining life must be obtained by increased sales. And this was the very worst part of the matter. Industrial products fell in value, and the same amount would purchase only a greatly diminished quantity of food.

The same evil appeared in another direction. The raw material required by industry was just as valuable as the food to be purchased, and must also be bought with the products of the people. That is, only a smaller quantity of these wares could be obtained for the amount of manufactured articles sold.

Thus, as has happened in all business crises, a number of currents meet to lend their destroying power to the flood. A newly-opened market which had become necessary because, owing to the levelling of wants, the agricultural countries were able to make for themselves a large number of the articles whose manufacture required less skill, was suddenly lost. This loss had hurried the sales of all saleable articles, and forcing the sales had reduced prices. These cheapened articles could purchase only a diminished quantity of food; so, according to the nature of the phenomena of disease, the serious evil of a loss of trade was increased by additional reductions of sales. That is, it was a crisis similar to those which have often occurred in trade, and its duration was dependent upon regaining the lost market for goods.

So the Government sought and pondered. But it could not obtain the one thing necessary, and was left to perform the dismal task of restricting, saving, clip-

ping, and paring, until peace was declared in Asia, and a fresh impetus to business followed. How long could life be maintained by saving?

Winter passed, and smiling spring followed as usual. Summer's sun diffused its vivifying rays, and slowly, far too slowly for a starving people, the new harvest ripened. Scythes were swung, threshing machines thundered, mills clapped, and men once more received their daily bread. Had the danger passed? Was anxiety at an end? Was the haven gained? The careless masses could quietly enjoy life. They had no fears for the morrow; it was the business of the Government to provide for the population.

But the anxieties of the Government were increased, not diminished. During five and a half months its wise economy had succeeded in preserving the lives of men, but the amount of food it had obtained was sufficient only for the one purpose of maintaining the functions of life in the organism, not in supporting the functions of the development of energy, and so for five months and a half the population had not been able to use its productive energy in laboring to procure food. The harvest could last only four months—that is, the supply was sufficient only until November, and should the Government collect everything which, by the utmost abstemiousness on the part of the people, could be sold in foreign lands, it would not purchase food for more than two or three months longer. And what if peace was then declared in distant Asia, and the channels of trade were again opened? By that time help would be too late.

Doubtless the wares which the war had made unsaleable, and which were therefore now on storage, would supply means to purchase the food needed for three

months more, or to obtain the raw material requisite for the employment of the industrial force; but they would not do *both*.

If the Government bought the raw material, it would have no bread to give men to afford them the muscular power to manufacture it. If it bought food, it would lack the most important means of working for future sustenance after the present supply was exhausted.

Under any circumstances, the doom predicted by the Chancellor was impending. The social world was going to ruin, not through the evil from which it also suffered of lacking human hands to work—which could only be the source of gradual decay—but in consequence of the far more deadly evil of having no work for human hands.

Strange, startling, incomprehensible idea! At the topmost height of a fairy kingdom, possessing infinite treasures, whose brilliancy surpasses all description, equipped with implements of marvellous power, mistress of space, mistress of the forces of the soil, endowed with a knowledge which victoriously penetrates every secret, with a might of intellect to which no problem seemed insolvable, humanity found itself hurled at one blow from the height of power into the abyss, into a condition far worse than during the most helpless days of primitive times. Boldly, audaciously, it had striven to barter earthly imperfection for supernatural perfection, but in punishment for the madness was flung back to the first beginnings of earthly existence.

In truth, the folly had been gigantic! In a world of varying fertility, varying elements, varying harvests, with a changing moon, a changing sun, changing gusts of rain, and changing winds, men, in their blind hatred of property, had believed themselves able to dispense with the sole aid which Mother Nature, with provident

care, had placed in the cradle of mankind. And mortals of such scanty understanding had fancied this understanding sufficient to guide the universe in Nature's stead.

The days passed slowly and dismally. I, too, had experienced in my own person what tortures an unsatisfied stomach can inflict, but my own sufferings seemed trivial when I saw so many hollow-eyed faces and troubled brows.

Now, on New-year's Eve, I am sitting in my lonely room, thinking mournfully of the sorrows of the world. What can the New Year bring? The stores of provisions are small, and the end is drawing near. Will men, with indifferent eyes, permit Death to reap his harvest till their number has melted sufficiently to be fed by the crops of the country? Will they go forth, sword in hand, as they did in the days of the migration of the nations, to establish amid fire and slaughter a new home on foreign soil? Will they raise the murderous blade against one another, divide the land, and form domains where the lord of the soil swings the lash over trembling slaves? Will—

[Here the manuscript breaks off abruptly, and some interruption has apparently prevented Herr Friedrich Ost from completing his task. Perhaps he met his death in the scenes of anarchy which could not fail to ensue. In addition, however, I found a few loose pages, on which, probably obeying the impulse of the moment, he has written some thoughts concerning the social question. None of the sheets are dated, and therefore I cannot say whether these thoughts were committed to paper prior to November 25, 1890, or after October 29, 2001. To satisfy the wish for completeness, I will add them to the work in an appendix.—D. H.]

APPENDIX.

APHORISMS ON THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

Amid all the centuries chronicled in history, the nineteenth should be regarded as most pregnant in results to civilization. It has brought the political condition of civilized countries to a satisfactory degree of consistency, elevated intellectual life by magnificent scientific activity, and secured the most marvellous enrichment of material pleasures by means of highly important inventions, multiplication of power, and a daring spirit of enterprise. Nevertheless, the crown of glory does not yet deck its brow. Whether it will receive it depends upon whether, in victorious conflict, it can perform the last and the most difficult of the labors of Hercules.

Social democracy is like the venomous hydra, whose heads always grow again as fast as they are hewn off. It not only threatens what this century has created, but menaces all civilization, the work of thousands of years, all the vast treasures of the mental, moral, and material world. Will this century also endure this last of the labors, the battle with the hydra? Will it win at its close, by an imperishable victory, the most radiant of all coronals?

It will not fail to conquer if it perceives the vulnerable spot of the foe, and uses with wise selection and sufficient strength the sole weapon which can strike this weak point. But it will sustain a shameful defeat if, in blind arrogance, it

undervalues the fatal power of the enemy and deals impotent blows at the regrowing heads.

Socialism—if we correctly understand its inmost essence, its contradiction to the changeless laws of nature—is nothing save a stupendous folly of the utmost magnitude. But its absurdity does not lessen the impending danger and cannot deprive the battle of its peril. Folly cannot be destroyed with cannon, nor conquered by imprisoning the fools who preach it, for an absurd idea will always attract fresh fools until it is completely crushed.

There is but *one* effective weapon against folly: that is, sound sense mated with morality. But in order to lead reason to war against folly, society must clearly understand where to draw the line between them.

Above all, it must know the battle-field it is to defend—namely, the social system which socialism is threatening to destroy. It must know how far it can fortify weak places, how far dangerous targets can be removed from the artillery of the foe.

To correctly understand the organism of society is the most difficult task of the human intellect. Each individual human being is a member of it, and his eyes penetrate the body no farther than the spot where he stands permits him to see. And since, from his position, he perceives only portions, not the whole, he constantly incurs the risk of overestimating the importance of the portion he beholds and underestimating the part which is invisible.

The arm which seeks to increase its strength may think the goal of its wishes will be most quickly attained by devoting its attention to enlarging the sinews and muscles. If it understood the body of which it is a member, it would know that the muscles and sinews not only grow without fostering

when the whole organism receives the nourishment necessary, but that it can best use its power when an abundant circulation of the vital force affords all the other organs full play for their functions.

The separate limbs of the social body, the various branches of industry, unless they look beyond the narrow limits of their business stand-point, will always be in danger of overestimating the importance of what seems to promote their own interests, and of underestimating the advantages which will be derived from an equal and harmonious development of the whole. If they attain the power of promoting the interests which seem to them of the first importance, there will be only too much danger that, by disturbing the development of the whole body, they will inflict injuries whose reaction will do them far more damage than the fostering of their individual advantages served them.

If we allow the short-sighted view taken from the standpoint of class to exert a decisive influence, the conflict between the interests of capital and labor seems most apparent. Capital is seeking labor, without whose aid no lucrative occupation is possible, and finds its profit the larger the less wages it has to pay the laborers. To the laborers their work serves as a means of livelihood, which they behold narrowed by the profits of capital.

As the workman cannot live without occupation and wages, he finds himself only too frequently compelled to accept conditions which afford him but a meagre subsistence, while capital, on the other hand, receives a rich reward; whereas capital, to which employment is not a vital necessity to the same degree, avoids far more easily any excessive demand on the part of the workman.

But if we should attempt to deduce from this a conflict of interests imposed by nature, or even the existence of an iron law by which the workman's daily wages could not rise above

a low standard of the demands of livelihood, we should commit an error which could arise solely from that short-sighted view of the organic life of the social body.

The increase of capital in the beginning was far slower than that of the population, and therefore it was perfectly natural — in so far as that a slowly growing demand confronted a more rapidly increasing supply—that it had the advantage in the labor market. But it is a part of the nature of capital that its growth fosters growth, and therefore, with the increase of prosperity, the growth of capital will overtake the growth of the population. The more this occurs, the more the supply of labor falls behind the demand. With the demand wages rise, and with the rise in wages the worker's share in the product of labor increases.

This change in the relation between capital and labor has revealed itself in many ways, and would have made itself still more plainly felt had not disturbances of trade and troublesome interferences retarded its peaceful development. Yet it is undoubtedly one of the most conspicuous signs of our times, and displays itself in the claims with which the fourth class is striving to join the other classes on equal terms.

This feature of our day is only apparently an injury—in reality it is an advantage—to capital; for the latter is seeking a practical use for its creative power, and will find a sphere of action the more surely the more the purchasing power of the people searches for the products of production. The whole purchasing power, or, rather, the prosperity of the people, will first attain progressive growth, genuine fructification of capital and labor, when it begins to be diffused through the lower strata, where the millions are.

That a working-class just attaining its majority should confront society with unwonted, and probably unreasonable, demands is a phenomenon very easily understood. It arises

from the low social position which had been assigned to the minor, and the insecure existence to which the perils of his occupation, the vicissitudes of circumstances, and his small earnings expose the laborer. No doubt it is also partly due to the exuberant delight with which vigorous youth, on attaining majority, plunges into the battle of life. That society, as far as it can, strives to fulfil its demands, is a law of prudence as well as justice. There will be no social peace so long as the *just demands* of the laboring class remain unsatisfied.

But what demands are to be recognized as just? Undoubtedly all which are attainable—attainable without retarding the harmonious development of the social body; for every interruption of this progress would injure the working-man no less than the other classes.

If we examine the justice of the demands solely from the point of view of what is attainable, we shall find the boundary line within which the social question is to be solved, and it will be the task of the other classes to exert their intelligence to show the laborers that none of their demands will be refused, save those which would injure them no less than the other classes.

If society succeeds in making the sound sense of the attainable and the folly of the unattainable clear to the laboring class, the social problem will be solved, the hydra of social democracy will be destroyed. The task is no easy one, for folly is more alluring than reason, and the favored classes, with all their intelligence, will not be able to accomplish the Herculean labor imposed upon our century unless they arm themselves with the moral earnestness requisite for such a conflict, and are thoroughly imbued with the idea that, because it is just, what is attainable must be attained.

What are the attainable demands of the working-classes?

It is attainable for the laborer to be granted the utmost liberty in the pursuit of gain, and to be unimpeded by any

Government measures in favor of other classes which would render it difficult or impossible to secure the highest wages that in the condition of the labor market can be obtained.

It is attainable that not only the right of union shall be secured to them, but that committees of laboring men or similar bodies shall be formed which, by making settlements in disputes about wages, and by impartial explanation of the business situation, will be able to save the workmen from the strikes which are often so damaging.

It is attainable that, so far as can be done without danger to the industrial branches concerned, laborers shall be afforded all possible protection, that their strength may not be impaired by work injurious to the health or exhausting to their bodily vigor.

It is attainable that no military duties shall be exacted from them beyond what is necessary to obtain a military training.

It is attainable that public interest and capital shall strive to improve the dwellings of the poorer classes.

It is attainable that all Government interference in business intercourse, by which the movement of prices and wages can be artificially influenced, shall be avoided, and that no taxes shall be levied which make it possible to raise prices for the benefit of speculators.

It is attainable that, even in indirect taxation, the burden on all classes shall be equal—that is, no tax shall be imposed upon necessary food.

It is attainable that the laboring class shall be practically on equal terms with the other classes; that the working-man shall feel at no disadvantage in Government or communal affairs with persons of a different rank.

Finally, it is attainable to sweep away the old class prejudices, which must always make the workman, in meeting other classes of society, feel as if he were a less free and respected member of it.

On the other hand, every demand of the laboring class is

unattainable which seeks to restrict in its own favor the perfect freedom of the movement of wages, and deprive capital of the unfettered use of the chances of accident and of the labor market.

Such restrictions could not fail to exert a harmful influence upon the development of the whole organism, and therefore would bring nothing but injury to the laboring class itself.

All demands for a rate of wages which would make the growth of capital impossible are unattainable.

Unattainable, too, above everything else, are all demands which strive to set aside the arrangements of the natural order of society, to limit the right of property, fetter the free industry of the individual, and, especially, allot to the employment of capital a position inferior to the labor of human hands.

Every such effort leads to unnatural relations, which would be no less dangerous to the laboring class than to society.

But even more difficult than to diffuse a general knowledge of what is attainable, and what is not, is the task of removing the obstacles which arise from false notions of loss. Our knowledge and our perception do not yet make us free from our prejudices, and, among those which narrow our vision, there is scarcely one so powerful as the prejudice of the moneyed interests. If the pocket is in question, temperate reflection is soon over. For instance, it is very difficult to explain to the sugar-maker that the bonus given to him is merely an artificially created advantage of his customer, and that, so long as he receives this bonus, there can be no healthful relation between production and consumption. It is still more difficult to make the needy farmer understand that a preponderance of production which, by its very nature, is temporary, must become a permanent evil if, by levying taxes, an effort is made to prevent an increase of consump-

tion which will again produce a balance between production and use.

Where the prejudice of interests warps the judgment of those concerned, the less trammelled verdict of public opinion must assert itself. It must oppose to all complaints and accusations, all dogmatic claims, the clear perception that Nature guides the social organism, and that she punishes all interferences by changing acute diseases into chronic ones.

It must not be diverted from the fact that protective duties and bonuses are only another form of the disease of socialism, and, like the latter, foolishly disturb the harmony of intercourse, the growth of prosperity, and the peace of society.

The prejudice of interests may be the hardest to conquer, but it is by no means the sole splinter in our brains which narrows our free vision of social phenomena, and can be removed only by the interposition of freedom of thought.

Prejudices of rank, education, religious belief and, above all, the one most difficult for thinkers to understand, the prejudice of class, render it a Titanic task for us to reconcile the events of social life in their changes and windings, their lights and shadows, their sorrows and their joys, with the radiance of liberty.

Whoever is willing to wage war against folly must know how to extirpate what pervades sound sense with specks of absurdity, and only a society which can meet the laboring class, untrammelled by social prejudices, will gain its confidence, remove the burdensome consciousness that between them runs a dividing line, a chasm, a contrast, and, spite of all irritation, make the working-men understand that none of their demands will be refused save those which cannot be granted without doing them an injury.

To seek healing for social hurts is primarily the business of society, and the latter ought not indolently to commit it to the State. But the social question imposes a highly im-

portant duty upon the State also. In the conflicts of society it must not interfere by measures calculated to give one class an advantage over another or, by influencing the movement of prices, guide the natural course of development of the social body into artificial channels which are opposed to the harmony of the functions. It must not, for the sake of temporal political interests, enhance the class contrasts which, to the natural short-sightedness of prevailing prejudices, seem to exist. The task pressed upon it by the social conflicts is rather to exert a reconciling influence in all directions, and preserve for society the peace, without which the harmony of the system of the universe cannot be realized in the social organism.

One advantage possessed by the Germans is their monarchical Government. It is easier for a monarchy than for other forms of administration to maintain in undisturbed operation the principles which society recognizes as the correct ones, and to oppose the currents by which individual interest wage war against the interests of the community.

If society, as well as the throne and the State, with correct judgment, earnest will, and full accord with the ethical views of our time, fulfil the just demands of the laboring class, our [illegible] will not end without solving the noblest problem as[illegible] to it, without giving to society peace in the sphere [illegible]ontrasts, apparently irreconcilable, are striving to pre[illegible]

THE END.

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